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## WHAT MUST BE DONE IN THE CRISIS?

We have proceeded thus far in the discussion of the Southern question entirely upon the theory that reconciliation is an essential element in producing a true and lasting union of the States, and that reconciliation can be arrived at only by the hearty adoption on the part of the South of the conditions under which the readmission of the States was effected, viz: the amendments to the Constitution. These amendments involve the equality of the colored people before the law, and also before public opinion. Whately says: "If there be any one truth which the deductions of reason alone, independent of history, would lead us to anticipate, and which again history alone would establish independently of antecedent reasoning, it is this: that a whole class of men placed permanently under the ascendancy of another as subjects without the rights of citizens must be a source, at the best, of weakness, and generally of danger, to the State."

The disposition to be made of the colored people has been from the first the only question of grave moment, assuming that loyalty to the Union has been secured on the part of the late rebels. All thought of punishment of the mass of rebels was universally abandoned at the moment Lee surrendered, and not for years has there been any expectation that even Jeff Davis would be required to suffer any penalty for offenses committed against the United States. The desire for a restoration of good feeling led the Republican party to a policy of absolute forgiveness as fast as prudence would permit, if not much faster, and amnesty was tendered

right and left with the largest liberality, and restrictions which were chiefly mere matters of form. Had these favors, which were pure offerings of grace, been accepted in the spirit which prompted them, this part of the difficulty would have been arranged and ended: but the language used in Congress shows that they failed of securing reconciliation, and the demand still is that something more shall be done to secure it. What that something is they call self government, or local government, but they really mean a government by the white race alone. This is the substance of all the complaints made against the measures of reconstruction which were adopted, all other objections being aimed at administration of affairs in which individuals and not the National Government were chiefly at fault.

The governments of the States by the colored people were not satisfactory, and it was not in the nature of things that they should be. A whole race born into slavery and brought up in ignorance could not be expected to become wise legislators in a moment. There was ignorance, and corruption, and mismanagement—still not worse than the municipal corruption and mismanagement in some of our large cities, and not so bad as that of Tweed in the city of New York. If, however, we turn the case around, and see how the white people have for generations stripped their colored brethren of houses, lands, and all the earnings of their hands, and of all chance to profit by their wits, we shall realize that the colored people are not the only sinners, and that on the score of hardship and suffering they are ye

much the heaviest victims. We do not say this in justification, but it palliates largely the offense which the colored people have perpetrated, and must be taken into account in striking a balance between the races, if a balance is demanded by those who are now crying out and bewailing their fearful sufferings.

But our purpose is not to attack or defend either side. We are stating some unpleasant truths because they are truths, and not to villify, and because it is important to look at the actual condition of things in order to any improvement therein. The elements of the problem we are dealing with are perplexing to the last degree, and the evils of the situation are not of a nature to be cured by a few centennial speeches, dinners, hand shakings, and complimentary resolutions of conventions, boards of trade, and ecclesiastical councils. The question goes directly to the foundations of society in the Southern States. Two races with wide differences in their composition and temperament and considerable differences in capacity occupy the ground together, the inferior race striving to place itself on a level with the other, and at this distance of time from the adoption of the constitutional amendments which were intended to secure their rights they are met by prejudices which are so violent, and by measures so unjustifiable, as to amount to a practical defeat of those amendments.

This condition of hostility between the races is fatal to Southern progress, fatal to industrial success, fatal to social order, fatal to the redemption of the South from its extreme of weakness and poverty. The colored people know now that they are men, that they are free men, that they are entitled to a recognition of their rights, and they are so nearly like other men that any serious infringement of their rights, any serious oppression, any systematic and continued wrong will certainly arouse in them and keep up a burning flame of revenge and retaliation; and this is nothing more or less than war. And such a war must drive away capital, frighten and keep away the enterprising and energetic elements of population which have done so much for New England

and New York, and built up the great West with such astonishing rapidity. Unless the South can organize industry and increase her productions she must continue to fall behind, and she must become to the rest of the country what Ireland has been to England. The load of debt and taxation which rests upon that section can only be lifted by industry intelligently directed, and by thrift. The curse of God rested on slavery as all now can see, but it rests also upon society in a state of anarchy, and upon unintelligent labor. Social anarchy can be averted only by justice and a recognition of the rights of the oppressed, and intelligent industry can be secured only by the common school and by social peace.

The condition of industry in the South is something appalling. Much of the population is unfit for mechanical employment, lacking skill, ingenuity, the inventive and executive faculty. A large moiety of the people not only work at a great disadvantage but they spoil the raw material, and destroy the machinery and works which others have made. Look at an ignorant, blundering servant girl. How she smashes the china and costly glassware, wastes the fuel, burns out prematurely the cooking stove, defaces furniture, walls, and the ornamentation of the house, and reigns in her realm with a carelessness that is destructive of both property and the peace of mind of the proprietor. And it is the same with the serving man-of-all-work. He leaves the hoe and shovel where they can be readily stolen, leaves the harness out in the rain to spoil, drives the wagon against somebody's carriage, causing damage to both vehicles, and in a thousand ways destroys property and renders himself a curse to his employer and the community. But all this appertains entirely to the simpler forms of labor, and is a mere trifle to what is lost to the producing force of society by rendering whole classes of men, white as well as black, unfit for any higher order of work. The difference between intelligent and unintelligent labor can be measured in various ways: by comparing one man with another, one village with another, one section of country with another. It can be measured by dollars and cents, and

is so measured by boss and hand, by master and servant, by manufacturer and employee, and by every one who has labor to buy or labor to sell. A strong, healthy, industrious man will break his back at shoveling gravel and accept a dollar for a day's work with gladness, while the skilled mechanic will receive for the same outlay of strength, or less, three or four dollars during the same time. The hand on the farm will earn thirty dollars per month, and the serving man only ten.

The difference in these prices is due entirely to the difference in intelligence between the two classes. Payment is according to product, and product depends upon skill and knowledge. As the result of knowledge the poor soil and bleak hills of Massachusetts are made to yield more from year to year, while for the want of knowledge the fertile valleys of Virginia have gradually been running out and the population have been reduced to extremity. Ignorance, therefore, is plainly destructive. It impoverishes labor; it reduces the productive power of the community; it robs the stomachs of people by disabling them of the power to get proper and sufficient food; it robs the backs of men and women by destroying their power to obtain proper and sufficient clothing; it reduces the value of land by bad methods of cultivation; and, worse than all, it creates a dangerous, turbulent, vicious population which effectually excludes healthy immigration to keep up the recuperative energy of the community. The safety of the State, the recuperation of the State, the happiness of the people, and the proper organization of industry in the Southern States all depend primarily upon education, as may be readily seen by what we have said above, and, without an improvement of a marked character in the interest which the Southern leaders have in the cause of education, there is absolutely no hope for that section of the country.

We have arrived now on practical ground. There must be equality of rights, and the population must be educated. As it is unsafe to the whole Union to have one entire section remain ignorant and turbulent, and as it is unprofitable to have the people of

an entire section ground down in the dust by poverty, and to have their labor misdirected and but half rewarded, this question becomes one of high national concern and transcendently important. The whole future of the country hangs upon this issue. North, West, South are vitally interested in its determination; and we are driven to ask, "What are you going to do about it?" "Can we save the country?"

When the war broke out the people responded by saying "We can;" and the job was undertaken. They waded through oceans of blood; but the work is yet unfinished. The Democratic party throws itself in front of the friends of equality and education and demands a halt. It signalizes its return to partial power by bringing in a bill to abolish the Bureau of Education. It goes with unerring instinct against all the prominent instrumentalities of education and the dissemination of knowledge. It goes back on the ideas of all the Presidents from Washington to Polk, and frowns upon the efforts of the apostles of education, and proposes to cut the official throat of every disseminator of human knowledge within its reach. The beggared South, unable to provide the means for teaching its children the alphabet, and doubly unable to secure and maintain an organization which shall collate and publish the facts and statistics necessary to an organized system of education, is to be deprived of the only agency which can be made available to promote the great cause of the common people and the great cause of all the people.

The Democrats strike at education because they are not in sympathy with knowledge and equality. The Southern white man's party hopes to keep the negro under by keeping him ignorant, and it offers the votes of the Southern States solid as the consideration to the Democracy for making war upon the machinery of education and upon all measures for the protection of the colored man's rights. Slavery is dead, but ignorance and inequality, disunionism and Democracy, are still in alliance and go hand in hand as lovingly as in former days when slavery was with them as senior partner and chief capitalist. Education can be carried only by the triumph of the party of education, and without education the South must

remain ignorant, poor, disturbed, discouraged, an element of weakness to the Union, a foe to good government, and her own worst enemy.

To avert this great calamity the triumph of the Republican party is necessary. Dispute as we may about the fact of present outrages, quarrel as we may about the regu-

larity of elections, scoff as we will concerning "the bloody shirt," there is danger in the situation as important to have met, and met rightly, as any of the appalling dangers which have been met and conquered in the past. The mission of the Republican party is not ended. We are not out of the woods. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

## TO THE SURVIVORS OF REBEL PRISON PENS.

Jefferson Davis, in a letter dated New Orleans, Louisiana, January 29, 1876, and addressed to the Honorable James Lyons, Petersburg, Virginia, makes a defiant denial of the arraignment made by the Honorable James G. Blaine, of Maine, and by General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, of his direct and personal responsibility for the cruel treatment of the Union soldiers who were prisoners of war to the Confederacy of which Mr. Davis was President. He goes further, and, like Mr. Benjamin H. Hill, Representative in the Forty fourth Congress, from Georgia, who was also a member of the Confederate States Senate, from the same State, the rebel ex-President denies altogether that unnecessary suffering ensued among, or unjustifiable harshness or cruelty was practiced against, those of our soldiers who were so unfortunate as to be prisoners within the pens at Andersonville, Florence, Salisbury, Belle Isle, and Tyler, or in the tobacco warehouses of Libby and Castle Thunder. The denial is a bold and sweeping one. Its audacity rises to sublimity. It not only denies but accuses. The Union is assailed as having, through its officials and policy, treated the Confederate prisoners in its hands as bad or worse than our men were used at Andersonville, Belle Isle, and elsewhere. It is also charged with causing the sufferings of the latter by the policy it pursued of refusing to exchange.

Now, as to one part of Mr. Jefferson Davis' denial and counter accusation, there is a direct and unassailable method of obtaining evidence. The survivors of the rebel prison pens still remain among us. Those of Andersonville formed an association which is still in existence. We call upon every man who was captured and confined by the Confederates during the civil war for slavery

and disunion to at once give to the public a brief and direct account of his personal experiences. Let each man write to the nearest Republican paper a simple statement of his name, regiment, rank, date of capture, length of confinement, when exchanged, the treatment he himself received as to food, shelter, medical care, &c., as well as to the action of those in charge. Avoid all rhetoric, denounce no one, give as far as practicable the names of Confederate officers, &c., in command; also, any special instances as to others known to the survivors, the details of which are readily substantiable.

With regard to the treatment of rebel prisoners in the northern entrepôts, there is as direct a method of obtaining reliable testimony. Officers who were in command of such prisons are still living, as are also soldiers who were stationed thereat. Their evidence will be of value. In every place where such prisons were located local sanitary and Christian associations existed, the members of which busied themselves in caring for the sick and wounded, and in visiting the prisons and camps. Reputable citizens at Elmira, Rock Island, Chicago, Columbus, and elsewhere know the facts. Let them give their testimony. The honor of one's country should be sacred. We who fought for liberty and union surely have as vital an interest in that honor as the men who compelled us to fight by their mad attempt to perpetuate slavery and destroy the Union. Let us have the facts.

Bear in mind that the object of such communications is not partisan but historical. Two civilizations or systems of government have been and still are on trial. This question of Andersonville and its attendant horrors belong to the trial. The case has been reopened, and the verdict once solemnly rendered is now challenged. A cloud of witnesses are still living. Let them give the facts. Communications can also be sent to the office of THE REPUBLIC, Washington, D. C., if writers do not desire to send to their county or other journals. Let every man respond, and at once. The good name of the Union is sought to be assailed, and a feulent treason seeks historical vindication by these audacious falsehoods.



## SUMMARY OF THE FIELD WORK OF THE HAYDEN GEOLOGICAL SURVEY DURING THE SEASON OF 1875.

The United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, under the direction of Professor Hayden, during the season of 1875 continued its work of the two previous seasons in Colorado, completing the southern and southwestern portions, including a belt, fifteen miles in width, of northern New Mexico and eastern Utah.

The entire force of the survey was divided into seven parties for special duty, four of which were assigned to specific areas for the performance of topographical and geological work. One party attended to the primary triangulation; a second collected photographic views of the most interesting scenery and ancient ruins, while a third transported the supplies to the various districts.

The areas for exploration the present season were much further from the base of supplies than heretofore, rendering the labor greater and causing great loss of time in traveling to and from these bases. Yet the amount of topographical and geological work accomplished has not been exceeded by any previous year.

As heretofore, the starting point was at Denver. The first or southern division operated in southeastern Colorado. It was composed of A. D. Wilson, chief topographer, directing; Franklin Rhoda, assistant topographer; Dr. F. M. Eudlich, geologist; with two packers and a cook. The district surveyed by this party embraced an area of 12,400 square miles. Within these limits Mr. Wilson made 143 stations on the more commanding peaks.

A system of triangles was extended over the whole area, while at the same time the topographical sketches and angles were taken, barometrical readings were made at all occupied points, at all camps, passes, and other places of note visited during the season. Many of the stations have been carefully connected in height by fore and back angles of elevation and depression, to be used as a check on the barometric heights, while the heights of all located points have

been determined by a system of angles of depression and elevation.

The district assigned to this division for the summer of 1875 joined on to the south borders of that surveyed in 1873 and 1874. The  $104^{\circ} 30'$  longitude formed the eastern,  $108^{\circ}$  longitude the western, and  $36^{\circ} 45' N.$  latitude the southern boundaries. About 12,400 square miles were contained in the district.

A plan for the most rapid and successful completion of the work undertaken was prepared by Mr. Wilson and subsequently carried out as proposed. This district contained the foot-hills sloping eastward from the Front range, the southern continuation of the Sangre de Christo range, the southern end of San Luis valley, the extension of the La Plata mountains, and the lower country of the Rio San Juan and its tributaries. A small portion of the sedimentary eastern foot-hills was first surveyed, and the work then carried westward to the mountainous vicinity of the Upper Rio Grande. Instead of forming a well-defined, sharply-limited range, the mountains south of the Rio Grande are formed by a high plateau with numerous isolated peaks. Both plateau and the peaks mentioned are volcanic, showing the characteristic regularity of flows prevalent there. From the position of volcanic beds composing the higher peaks, it may be inferred that at one time the summit of the plateau extended to a considerably higher altitude than at present. Toward the southwest it drops off suddenly into the lower country containing Rios Piedra and Pinos. Presenting a line of steep, rough mountains—formed in part by the abrupt termination of the plateau, in part by the peaks above mentioned—the former contrasts strongly with the rich land in the valleys of the two rivers. Here, as at so many points in the districts surveyed by the southern division, the geological features determine the orographic character. With the plateau and the volcanic beds and the sedimentaries of cretaceous age set in. But few stratigraphic

ical disturbances have changed the relative position of the beds, and the country therefore shows regular features. Long lines of high ridges, abrupt on the north side, sloping more gently toward the south, extend from east to west, and are cut by the drainage of the San Juan. Eastward the edge of the plateau recedes, losing at the same time some of its roughness, and a broad expanse of comparatively low, bluff country appears. Rich valleys, partly timbered or covered with grass, follow the course of the larger streams, owing their formations to the rapid erosions and ready disintegration of the shales belonging to Cretaceous No. 2. Springs containing an unusual amount of mineral ingredients, some of them hot, occur in these valleys. Owing to the slight southerly dip of the cretaceous beds, this formation claims a considerable area of the region extending from the Rio Animas eastward to the border of the district. Above the well-determined strata of Nos. 2 and 3 a series of shales and sandstones set in, in which no characteristic fossils whatever were found. They reach a thickness of about 3,000 feet, and contain coal at a number of points. It will not be possible to determine their geological age with any degree of certainty until careful comparisons of the parallel formations observed by Mr. Holmes and Dr. Peale can be made. The absence of fossils is greatly to be regretted, but none were found, although many square miles were traversed containing the series. Speaking with the reserve that imperfect comparison of the notes taken dictates, it would appear that the Trinidad coal-bearing series is parallel to this one.

After having completed the survey of this lower region along the Rio San Juan and its tributaries, the work was continued to the extension of the La Plata mountains. Here again volcanic rocks were met with, identical in every respect with those further north and west. Here, as well as previously on the headwaters of the Pinos and Piedra, evidence of former glaciers was found. Considerable areas showed the grooving and striation of rocks in situ, produced by the motion of ice and boulders. Deep canons were cut into, volcanic conglomerate occur-

ring there, that had not preserved the grooving and striation, however, owing to the rapidity with which it yields to the effect of atmospheric influences. A gentle slope eastward of the volcanic rocks, that there reached to the youngest member of the group, basalt, gradually merged into the San Luis valley. Affected by local basaltic eruptions, as well as by the easterly dip of the volcanic beds, the drainage on the west side of this valley presents some interesting features, consisting in sudden curves northward. Northward the unbroken flows of basalt continue on the west side of the valley until Rio Alamosa is reached, where they end and drift begins. A number of volcanic bluffs, trending nearly north and south, separate this portion from the valley through which the Rio Grande runs after making its turn southward west of Fort Garland. This region, geologically, is more interesting than the western one, on account of the evidence furnished demonstrating the existence of two very large lakes at the close of the volcanic activity there. The two were connected by a narrow strip of water south of Fort Garland, and the lower one extended southward nearly to the Rio Colorado. At that time, too, the course of the Rio Grande was different from its present one. By the formation of a narrow canon in the basaltic beds the course of the river was deflected, the lakes drained, and the topography left very nearly in the shape we now observe it. The accurate determination of all the points connected with the existence of these lakes offers no material obstacle, but requires by far more time than could be bestowed upon it in the regular course of the survey.

Separating the eastern foot-hills and the great plains from San Luis valley is the southern continuation of the Sangre de Cristo range. Several peaks of this range rise to an elevation of nearly 14,000 feet, while many of them reach 13,000 feet above sea level. Here again metamorphic rocks set in, containing indications of metalliferous veins. Sedimentary beds, belonging to the carboniferous and cretaceous ages, the latter only on the eastern slope, however, rest against the metamorphic "core" of the range. Volcanic eruptions of the trachytic series have occurred, and show an arrangement parallel to the general course of the

chain. A more or less isolated group of peaks is north of Fort Garland, termed the Sierra Blanca. Passes are both north and south of it—Mosco pass and the Sangre de Christo and Abeyta passes. While cretaceous beds, overlying the carboniferous and subjected to considerable disturbances, slope off from the range toward the eastward, their area is somewhat limited, as the lignitic group there again makes its appearance in the Raton hills and north of them. Lithologically this is identical with the one observed on the Rio San Juan. Comparisons of the succession of strata and relative thickness, &c., will be found in the report for 1875. The age of this group has for some time occupied the attention of geologists and given occasion for dissenting views. It is highly probable that the results obtained during the past season will not admit of a definite decision with regard thereto. They will at least be entitled to more consideration than those of explorers having merely traveled over a limited area, as so large a continuous district containing the formation has been examined. It is not possible at present to state positively what these results will be, but from the observations taken in the field it can be deduced that the age of the lignitic group near Trinidad is *not* cretaceous. A full discussion of this important subject will be found in the report for 1875.

Upon the completion of the examination of the just-mentioned group the work of the season was connected to the north and northeast with that of 1874 and therewith finished. On October 12 the party returned to Denver, having fully accomplished the purpose for which it was sent out. Important and useful information has been obtained regarding mineral and agricultural resources of the district, and data has been obtained for the preparation of a topographical and geological map of the area surveyed.

The southwestern division was conducted by W. H. Holmes as geologist, with G. B. Chittenden as chief topographer and T. S. Brandegee as assistant topographer. Mr. Brandegee acted as botanist also.

The area assigned to this division is bounded on the east by the work done by Mr. Wil-

son in 1874, or a line about on the meridian of  $108^{\circ}$  west longitude; on the south by the parallel of  $36^{\circ} 45'$ ; on the west by meridian  $109^{\circ} 30'$ ; and on the north by  $37^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. These boundaries included an area of about 6,500 square miles. An area of about 500 square miles was surveyed on the eastern base of the mountains on the outward march. Here Mr. Chittenden made about twelve stations, connecting with the former work and completing the sheets to the proposed eastern line of the survey.

The easternmost line of the district assigned to this division was over four hundred miles from Denver. The party arrived there on the 30th June, and commenced work immediately.

The work was generally done by means of the plane table, and re-enforced by both vertical and drainage sketches from all the stations, and also by time meanders of all the main streams, and generally by a running sketch of the routes traveled. The main stations averaged one to every seventy-five square miles of area.

By meandering Mr. Chittenden surveyed the San Juan river, the La Plata, the Mancos, and the Dolores, all of them considerable streams, and besides these the McElmo and Montezuma creeks, which, though well defined stream beds, contain no running water. These last named dry rivers are each upwards of seventy-five miles long, and for a considerable part of their course are in deep canons. In the meander he made a trigonometric location as often as once in ten miles.

The great trouble in working was lack of water. The party were often obliged to ride out ten, fifteen, and even twenty miles from the rivers to make a station and back again for camp, because outside of the rivers themselves there was no water at all.

In regard to the systems of working generally employed now in the different surveys west of the Missouri River, the plane-table system which was generally used this summer is admirably adapted to a low broken country, where good "points" are abundant, and works also extremely well in a simple canon country, where there are surrounding prominent points at not too great distance. But

in a mountain country it could not be used to any advantage, and was eventually abandoned in all the mountain work. In low broken and canon country it is probably the best system that can be used; but in the ordinary rolling and mountainous country of the northwest it will not repay the extra weight and time which its use entails.

In any but a very mountainous country a system of *meander* seems to be almost necessary to make work on a scale of four inches to a mile complete. It is the abuse and not the use of the old odometer system that has brought it into so much discredit. If properly checked the meanders give the more important portions of the country, as the traveled routes and principal rivers, the greater degree of accuracy which is their due. The third and only remaining system in use in the West is that generally employed on this survey and formerly used both in the California survey and in that of the 40th parallel. It consists of a system of vertical and horizontal sketches based on a rather elaborate triangulation and checked by numerous angles, both vertical and horizontal. This system is peculiarly adapted to a rolling or mountainous country, and in such country can not be equaled by either of the other modes. It works well, too, in country of different character, and is, probably on the whole, the best system on which to base work in the average country of the West. It should, however, be supplemented by good meanders of all the main roads and rivers. In the work of the survey this summer the three systems were employed, and the above remarks are the immediate result of the summer's observations.

The party completed about six thousand square miles in the West, being obliged, after the trouble with the Indians, to leave unworked a small corner in the Northwest, which will require about five days to complete. This patch joins directly on to Mr. Gannett's uncompleted area, and lies entirely west of the Colorado line. In going to and from the work six full weeks were spent in marching. Mr. Chittenden worked about six thousand five hundred square miles, and made eighty-four main stations.

The geological examination by Mr. Holmes was fruitful of most important results. His

investigations were extended from Colorado into portions of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

No previous study of this region had been made, excepting that by Dr. Newberry, in 1859, of which nothing has been published up to this time.

In 1874, Dr. Eudlich examined the district lying to the east, so that Mr. Holmes took up the work where he left off at 108° west longitude, and carried it without difficulty to 109° 30'. In general the geology is not greatly complicated. The section of stratified rocks exposed extends from the lignitic series to the carboniferous, including about 2,000 feet of the former and slight exposures merely of the latter. About 8,000 feet of measures, therefore, passed under examination. Of other rocks, there are four small areas of trachyte, one limited area of metamorphic rock, and a few unimportant dikes.

Beginning at the east, Dr. Eudlich's section on meridian 108° includes the entire series, beginning with the lower carboniferous in the north and extending up into the tertiary at the south. The strike is east and west, the dip south from 5° to 45°. Working to the westward Mr. Holmes found the whole series flattening out, i. e., approaching a horizontal position. At the same time a gentle rise toward the northwest brings the cretaceous rocks to the surface, or at least up to the general level of the country. The lignitic group is, therefore, confined to the southeast. From Station I an outcrop of the light colored sandstone belonging to the base of this series could be traced along its entire course through his district.

The heaviest seam of coal examined in these beds is 26 feet in thickness. It is rather light and impure on the surface, but probably of moderately good quality. A number of less important seams could also be recognized.

West of the Rio La Plata the upper cretaceous beds are raised to a higher plane by a slight monoclinical fold, after which they spread out to the west, forming the *Mesa Verde*. This plateau extends nearly to the San Juan on the south, west beyond the Rio Mancos, and north to the middle of the district, an area of more than 700 square miles. On

these three sides the mesa breaks abruptly off in lines of irregular escaped cliffs, generally from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in height.

The striking features of this series are the exposures of two horizons of massive sandstones. The upper forms the top of the mesa, the lower, 1,000 feet below, produces a subordinate shelf. Shales intervene between the sandstones of the lignitic and the upper sandstones of the mesa and between these and the lower sandstones. Around the base of the mesa the lower cretaceous shales outcrop. The belt covered by these is narrow and is followed by the hard sandstones of the Dakota group, which is very persistent here as elsewhere, and occupies the higher level of the entire mesa country to the west and north. The jurassic strata and the "red beds" are exposed in the sides and bottoms of the numerous canons and stream courses, the latter only in the greater valleys, and in patches about the bases of the trachytic areas. The jurassic section is, in the upper part, almost identical with the corresponding series in other parts of Colorado, but at the base has a larger development of soft sandstones and marls. The identification rests upon the analogy of position and lithology. The "red beds" are massive sandstones and conglomerates as usual.

The only important mountains are the Sierra La Plata. They lie toward the northwest, and are principally of carboniferous rocks, so highly metamorphosed as to have lost all apparent structure. A large number of rich lodes of gold and silver have been recently discovered in this group about the sources of the Rio La Plata, and an extensive placer bar is located near its exit from the mountains.

In the extreme northeast corner of this district there is a group of trachytic buttes, including Lone Cove, which belongs to the San Miguel mountains. West of the Mesa Verde, almost in the center of the district, stands the "Late" group, of which Ute Peak is the culminating summit. It covers an area of some 40 square miles, and is simply a mass of trachyte pushed up through and poured out over the floor of the Dakota group.

In the extreme southwest corner, principally in Arizona, are the Sierra Carisso, identical with the Late in nearly every re-

spect, differing only in having carried up portions of the carboniferous rocks about their base, while a fragment of the same beds is caught up in the center of the group.

Of the 6,000 square miles, 5,700 are of sedimentary rocks. 230 of these in the southeast are of the so-called lignitic, 800, chiefly included in the Mesa Verde, belong to the upper cretaceous, and the remaining 4,900 to the lower cretaceous, and such of the earlier periods as are exposed in the crooked and narrow valleys and about the trachytic groups. In the cretaceous series Mr. Holmes examined a number of seams of workable coal, procured fossils in ten distinct horizons, and expects to be able to identify these horizons with such corresponding ones as exist on the Atlantic slope. The section obtained is the most complete and satisfactory made in Colorado up to this time. The trachyte areas include about 250 square miles, and seem to present no remarkable or unusual features.

The prehistoric remains in the canons and lowlands of the southwest are of great interest, and the study of them by Mr. Holmes was as complete as possible under the circumstances. Many cliff houses built in extraordinary situations, and still in a fine state of preservation, were examined. A good collection of pottery, stone implements, the latter including arrow-heads, axes, and ear ornaments, &c., &c., some pieces of rope, fragments of matting, water jars, corn and beans, and other articles were exhumed from the debris of a house. Many graves were found, and a number of skulls and skeletons that may fairly be attributed to the prehistoric inhabitants were added to the collection.

The western, or Grand River division consisted of Henry Gannett, topographer-in-charge, W. R. Atkinson, assistant topographer, A. C. Peale, geologist, two packers, and a cook.

The district assigned to this party lies between the parallels of latitude  $37^{\circ} 52'$  and  $39^{\circ} 15'$ ; is limited on the west by the meridian  $109^{\circ} 30'$ , and on the east by the western limit of the work of last year, approximately the Gunnison and Uncompahgre rivers. This embraces the country drained by the Uncompahgre and Dolores rivers and their branches.

The party left Denver on June 7th, and on July 3d commenced work. They worked uninterruptedly until August 15th, when the work was brought to a sudden close by the Indians.

The work was carried to the western line of Colorado, toward the northern end, extending 25 or 30 miles into Utah, and reaching the north and south lines throughout, except in the southwestern part. The total area surveyed is about 6,000 square miles. In doing this 74 stations were made.

The country is extremely diversified. The Uncompahgre flows through a broad valley, fifty miles in length by about twenty in width, almost perfectly flat, and very dry. The elevation is 4,500 to 6,000 feet. The soil is poor, and vegetation, except in the river bottom, very scanty.

Between the Uncompahgre and the Dolores is a high ridge, whose axis is parallel to the course of the rivers, i. e., about N. 30° W. It has a long, gradual slope to the Uncompahgre valley, while it breaks off sharply and steeply to the Dolores. The average elevation of the crest is 8,000 to 9,000 feet. Most of this country is well timbered with heavy pine, quaking aspen, and some spruce. There is also considerable open country, which is covered with luxuriant grass.

The Sierra la Sal is a short, isolated range of mountains, just west of the Dolores, separating it from the Grand river. The direction of the range is about north and south, its length about fifteen miles, and the elevation of the summits 12,000 to 12,500 feet.

The Grand river from the mouth of the Gunnison to that of the Dolores is alternately in open valley and low canons. On the south the river hugs the edge of the plateau closely, while on the north low, open, desert country extends about fifteen miles back from the river. This desert country extends down the Grand, and across to the Green, forming the great plateau in which these streams and the Colorado cut their canons.

South of the Sierra la Sal are fine valleys extending nearly to the head of the Dolores. Further west the country is a plateau, without water, covered with sage and pinion pine, and cut by numberless dry canons.

The geological features of the district surveyed by the Grand River division during

the season of 1875 are comparatively simple, there being no great uplifts nor many local disturbances. The sedimentary formations represented are all included under carboniferous, red beds (triassic?), jurassic, and cretaceous. Exposures of metamorphic rocks are seen in several parts of the district, limited mainly to the bottoms of canons, the streams having cut through the overlying sedimentaries. The eruptive areas are also limited. In the southern part of the district we had the overlapping edges of various trachytic flows whose sources of origin were in the Uncompahgre mountains still further south. Besides these, there are three distinct centers of eruption, viz: The Lone Cove group of mountains on the south, the Abajo mountains in the southwest, and the Sierra la Sal mountains toward the northwest. These are of porphyritic trachyte, and have been pushed up through the cretaceous layers, which dip gently from them. The greater part of the district, however, is covered with sedimentary rocks, generally horizontal, or if dipping, but little inclined. In these beds the drainage is outlined by canons which are from a few hundred to over a thousand feet in depth. During the summer months the streams are dry.

Leaving the Los Pinos Indian agency, the first work was on the south side of the Gunnison river in a narrow strip of country lying between Mr. Gannett's district of 1874 and that of Mr. Wilson for the same year. The rocks here are trachytes interlaminated with tuffs in horizontal layers. They rest partly on metamorphic rocks, and partly on the remnants of cretaceous sandstones. Previous to the outpouring of these trachytes the country was evidently subjected to considerable erosion, the sandstones being in many places entirely removed, exposing the gneissic rocks upon which they were deposited. Going westward toward the Uncompahgre river, the volcanic rocks disappear, and rocks of upper cretaceous age show in bluffs on the east side. The weathering of these beds has produced a barren alkaline soil, in which there is no vegetation. In the immediate river bottom there is some good soil, but it is limited in extent. The course of the Uncompahgre is a few degrees west of north, and between it and the drainage of the San Miguel and Dolores rivers, which has approxi-



mately the same direction, is a plateau-like country with a gentle slope to the eastward toward the Uncompahgre, and breaking off in benches on the Dolores side. Seen from the mountains, this plateau appears very regular, nevertheless it is very much cut up by numerous canons, which carry water only in wet seasons. The floor of the plateau is composed chiefly of sandstones of the Dakota group, (cretaceous No. 1,) underlain by jurassic shales and red beds, (triassic?) which rest upon metamorphic rocks, as seen in the canons. On the western side of the plateau is a monoclinical fold, which in some places becomes a fault of 300 to 500 feet. One of the most curious features of this region is a canon extending from the Dolores river to the Gunnison river. It is evidently the bed of an old stream which probably once flowed toward the Gunnison. At present, there are in it two creeks, one a tributary of the Gunnison and the other a branch of the Dolores, the latter the principal stream of the two. At the divide between them the canon is about 1,200 feet deep, 900 feet of gneissic rock and 300 of sedimentaries on the top. The dip is toward the east, and the creek flowing in that direction gradually gets higher and higher in the schists, and finally cuts through the overlying sandstones in which it joins the Gunnison. Toward the west the canon rapidly increases in depth until it is 3,000 feet below the general surface. The stream on this side cuts across the line of faulting of the west side of the plateau, and enters the red sandstones which incline westward. In these it joins the Dolores river. North of the canon, between it and Grand river, the Dakota group, which prevails to the southward, is almost entirely absent, the red beds forming the greater part of the surface, which is here a maze of dry canons. The country gradually falls off toward Grand river, the western line of faulting becomes a fold, and the eastern fold, which is also faulted in places, gradually becomes less. North of Grand river beds of upper cretaceous age appear, probably succeeded by tertiary as we go north. On the San Miguel river, and Dolores river, and extending westward, the rocks are sandstones. There are broad folds extending across the country whose axis are parallel, the general direction being north and south.

Between the San Miguel and Dolores the Dakota group forms the floor. Beyond the Dolores the red beds prevail, capped with isolated patches of jurassic shales, and underlain with beds of carboniferous age. The latter show but in few places. The drainage here has two general courses at right angles to each other. The main streams flow in a general northerly direction.

In the Sierra la Sal the prevailing rock is a beautiful porphyritic trachyte, which in some places has included masses of cretaceous shales. One of the most prominent peaks has a capping of sandstone which was lifted up by the eruption of the mass, the base of the peak being entirely of trachyte. There are evidences of glacial action here. Northwest, and west of the group, the red beds have the Roches Montonnées form, beautifully seen from the summits of the mountains.

The Abajo mountains are of porphyritic trachyte, similar to the Sierra la Sal, as are the mountains about Lone Cove, which properly belong to the district assigned to the San Juan division.

The work of the fourth division, directed by G. R. Bechler, extended over a large area, situated between meridians  $104^{\circ} 30'$  and  $106^{\circ} 30'$  and parallels  $38^{\circ} 40'$  and  $40^{\circ} 30'$ , or from the foot-hills of the Rocky mountains to the Upper Arkansas and Eagle rivers, and from a point six miles south of Pike's Peak to within fifteen miles of Long's Peak.

In this district the entire Middle and South Parks are located and three of the large rivers of the west, the Arkansas, Grand, and Platte rivers, together with several of their large tributaries, have their origin. The principal branches are Blue, Snake, Williamson, and Frazer rivers on the west slope, and Tarryall, Fountain of the Bouille, Bear, Clear, St. Vrain, Boulder, Thompson, and Buckhorn rivers on the eastern slope.

The main Rocky range and its minor ranges are, in this district, peculiarly complicated, for the latter, at times, on account of their height and magnitude, seem to lose their subordinate character and become independent ranges, while the main range contains groups or clusters of peaks so complicated in their form and connections that it requires close observation on the part of the topographer to lay down the true drainage.

Among the minor ranges, the Park, Williams or Blue river, Gore, Tarryall, and Platte River ranges rank in height among the largest, while for extreme ruggedness, the Gore and Tarryall mountains cannot well be surpassed. In this district the great mining industries of Colorado are found.

The geographical features of this area are as follows: Between the Argentine and Georgia passes, a ridge of mountains leaves the main chain and follows a course about southeast and connects with the mountains near the Pike's Peak group on its west side. This is the Tarryall range, a rugged and abrupt granite wall, with several peaks over 12,500 feet in height and most of the others rising above timber line. The greatest depressions in this range are where the Tarryall and South Platte rivers break through in canons, and where the Ute Pass and Kanosha Pass afford an entrance to the South Park. To the east of the Kanosha pass a few miles, the Tarryall range separates into two ridges, which run nearly in an eastern direction. The northern ridge borders the south side of the North Platte river and is called the Kanosha or Platte River range. In this ridge volcanic peaks are found in great numbers. The mountain ranges in this portion of Colorado continually throw off spurs which are remarkable for the deep gorges which have been worn down their sides.

After completing the survey of Platte river, Tarryall, and the South Park districts, Mr. Bechler ascended the Arkansas valley, crossed the Tennessee Pass and examined the country that lies between the Eagle and Blue rivers, of which very little was known. This territory is bounded on the south, by the imposing mountain masses of the Mt. Lincoln group, and on the east by the cliff-walls of the Blue River range, and on the northeast by Gore's range, with its needle shaped peaks extending for twenty miles like sharp pinnacles.

In completing the survey of this district, Mr. Bechler joined, by his topographical work and triangulation, three separate surveys of previous years.

Crossing Gore's range and the Blue river, Mr. Bechler passed through the Middle Park and over the Boulder Pass to the sources of the

Big Thompson creek, an important stream, rising on the east side of the Long's Peak group. Much excellent work was done in the ridges of hogbacks at the east base of the mountains, thus bringing the season's labors to a most successful termination. One hundred and six stations were made, barometrical elevations were 450, and the number of elevations taken with the gradienter were about 6,000.

The party under Mr. Gardner had made but four stations when it was prevented from further prosecution of that duty by Indians. One of the stations occupied, was very important, viz., the Sierra la Sal mountain, which enabled Mr. Gardner to secure an excellent set of observations, thus extending the triangulation far into Utah, and connecting our eastern work with the great Colorado river of the west.

During the latter part of the season of 1874, Mr. W. H. Jackson, the photographer of Prof. Hayden's U. S. Geological Survey, in connection with Mr. Ernest Ingersoll, visited the southwestern portion of Colorado for the purpose of photographing the ruins, which rumor had placed in the canons of the Mesa Verde, and about El Late. The season was far advanced, and there was but little time for investigation, yet the eight days that were actually devoted to the subject brought to light a group of ancient habitations so novel in their construction and position that they have excited a very general interest. The results of the trip, as published in the correspondence of that time, and in Bulletin No. 1 of the survey, have already been widely distributed. The illustrations secured by photography, and then reproduced by photolithographic processes, have done much to popularize and render familiar the leading features of the subject, and showing, as they do, all the phases of the eccentric methods of these ancient builders, has made them an authority, and they have already been reproduced in a number of late publications.

The first trip proving so successful, Mr. Jackson was dispatched again this season to the same region with instructions to ascertain as far as possible the extent and distribution of these ruins, north of the present Moquis Pueblos. Associated with him in the enter-

prise was Mr. E. A. Barber, special correspondent of the New York *Herald*. A guide, two packers, and a cook constituted the whole party, and then, with six weeks' supplies laid in, the party started out from Parrott City, on the head of the Rio La Plata, August 27th, the general course being down the Rio San Juan to the DeChelly, up that to near Fort Defiance, and then over to the seven Moqui "Cities." Returning, they crossed the San Juan at the mouth of the DeChelly, and traveled northward to midway between the Sierra Abajo and La Sal, and then returned to starting point, across the heads of the canons which run southward to the San Juan.

The Upper San Juan, Mesa Verde, and El Late regions came within the area assigned Mr. W. H. Holmes, who, in addition to his geological investigations, made a special examination of the archaeology of his region, bringing out with his ready and artistic pencil even more wonderful ruins (of the same general class however) than were found by Mr. Jackson the season previous.

Traveling westward to the head of the McElmo, a day was spent in the further investigation of that interesting locality. A number of new ruins were discovered, but in no way differing from those already figured. The extreme heat of the atmosphere and the aridity of the country prevented more than a superficial examination of the many side canons which debouch into the main one, only enough to determine satisfactorily that ruins were to be found only in those canons which had alluvial bottoms, or in the near vicinity of tillable land. This fact held good in the other regions, for in no case could a single vestige of any habitation be found in the sterile, rocky gorges anyways removed from cultivable ground. Their ideas of a good farming land would hardly come up to that of an eastern farmer, yet a strip of bottom-land only fifty yards in width at the bottom of their deep canons would yield maize enough to subsist quite a town. The supposition that they were an agricultural people is strengthened by the fact that in the vicinity of any group of ruins there are also a number of little "cubby-holes," too small for habitation, but very evidently intended for "caches" or granaries, and the large towns

contain small apartments that must have been for the same use.

The only known water in the country, short of the San Juan, over forty miles distant, was on the Hovenweep, near the town which was discovered last year, thus necessitating the retraversing of so much of the country. A day spent in some of the tributary canons developed no remains of any importance, although every little side canon contains traces of former occupation by the town-builders. To the west of the Hovenweep is a high, level plateau separating it from the canons of the Montezuma, and running north and south from the waters of the San Juan to those of the Dolores. Upon this were found the remains of many circular towers, all of about the same size, twelve to fifteen feet in diameter. They are generally almost entirely obliterated, but in two or three cases portions of the wall, twelve to fifteen feet high, of well-built masonry, were found. This and sandstone mesa, a thousand feet above the surrounding valleys, does not contain a spring or any water whatever, except such as collects in the water pockets after a shower. The soil upon its surface is thin, and in places blown off clean to the bed rock. Grass, cedar, and artemisia flourish; in fact it is most excellent grazing land, and as cultivation was out of the question, these people must have had herds of sheep or goats which they brought up here to graze during the winter, mostly, just as the Ute and Navajo do at the present time, and these towers were built as places of refuge, or residence for their herders.

Eight and ten miles below the Hovenweep town are two groups of ruins worthy of note. The first is built upon an almost perfectly rectangular block of sandstone, which occupies a prominent position on a spur of the mesa. It is thirty-eight by thirty-two feet square, and twenty feet in height, as true and as level as though set by masons. The summit is entirely covered with the work that was built upon it, very evidently for merely defensive purposes, for directly at the foot of the rock, at its south side, was the habitation of the family. A line of wall forty feet square incloses a space, within which was another building resting against

the rock itself, the roof of which served as a means of access to the rock above. Two miles below, where the McElmo comes in, and upon the point of the mesa, are other similar ruins, but built much less regularly. Upon one of the faces of the rock is an inscription chipped in with some sharp pointed instrument, and covering some sixty square feet of surface. Figures of goats, lizards, and human figures abound with many hieroglyphical signs. The top of the mesa afforded much food for speculation in the interesting remains there discovered. The extreme point was a perfectly flat, level table, fifty by one hundred yards in diameter, with perpendicular walls of from fifty to one hundred feet on all sides, excepting the narrow neck which connected it with the main plateau. Across this neck a wall had been built to keep off either human or beast, and rendered the place perfectly isolated. Inside, nearly the entire space was subdivided into small squares and double-walled circles formed by slabs of stone set on edge, each square about three by five feet. The supposition has always been that these were burial places. They were dug down upon to a considerable depth without discovering anything. Here the soil was thin and light, so that the labor of excavating was easy. A number of the squares were cleaned out to the bed rock beneath, which in some cases was not more than a foot in depth, but without discovering anything more than that in every case the earth had been burnt, and a thin layer of charcoal remained. The question arises as to whether these people might not have been cremationists?

The Rio San Juan, at the mouth of the McElmo, is a stream averaging one hundred feet in width, and three to five in depth, flowing in great curves that almost touch upon themselves again, and bordered with dense groves of cottonwood. The bottoms are from one to three miles in width, and run back over sage-covered benches to the sandstone bluffs, picturesque in outline and color, which rise from five hundred to one thousand feet above the river. They gradually close in upon the stream until it is finally lost in the great canon below the mouth of the DeChelly.

Twelve or fifteen miles down the river brought the party to the first important ruins, although the older, almost unrecognized "indications" were abundant everywhere. At that point the bench land juts up over the river, and almost upon the brink is a quadrangular structure one hundred and sixty by one hundred and twenty feet square, with a small open court facing the river. A singular feature in its construction was a semicircular apartment in the center of the building and the rear of the court, about the outer circle of which was ranged a series of seven other apartments averaging thirty-five by fifty feet. Under the bluffs, and almost overhanging the stream, were a row of little cave houses. Other cave houses were niched in the cave like recesses of the bluffs for some distance above and below.

Some ten miles further, and the bordering bluffs came down quite near the stream, in some places overhanging it. Cave and cliff ruins occurred frequently in them. Upon the south side of the river an important cave ruin was discovered, which was quite remarkable in its way. Imagine a perpendicular bluff nearly three hundred feet in height, the upper half of which is a firm white sandstone, and the lower half a dull red, soft, and friable variety. Time has excavated an almost perfectly hemispherical cave from this bluff, equally divided between the two kinds of rock. It is two hundred and fifty feet wide, two hundred feet deep, and the same from top to bottom at its outer face. Midway from top to bottom, and running completely around the half circle which formed the back of the cave, are two benches, upon the upper of which is built the town or series of rooms two hundred feet in length in the aggregate, the lower serving as a walk or promenade, from which access could only be had by ladders. A little to the left of the center is the principal building, consisting of three rooms, each two stories in height, and now standing twelve feet high. Adjoining it on the right is a long row of twelve apartments built as a solid block, and on the left an open space of sixteen feet, and then another small building. In the open space were four holes, four

inches in diameter and twelve deep, drilled into the rock, serving evidently as post-holes for a loom.

All the rooms have been burnt out clean so that not a vestige of wood work remains. The walls are remarkably well preserved, the adobe mortar on the inside still retaining the impression of the delicate lines on the thumbs and fingers of the hands of the builders. Impressions of the whole of the hand were frequent, showing them to be small and finely formed. Corn cobs and pieces of pottery were found imbedded in the mortar. In the center of the larger rooms, beneath the debris, were found the fire places, circular excavations, which still retained the charred wood and ashes of aboriginal fires. Perched up in one of the houses, under a great dome of overhanging rock, that distinctly echoed every word uttered, with a steep descent of over 100 feet to the broad, fertile bottoms, handsome groves, and meandering course of the river, these old, old people, whom even the imagination can hardly clothe with reality, must have felt a sense of security that even the inroads of the barbarian northmen could hardly have ruffled.

Omitting mention of large numbers of ruins which are clustered along the San Juan, the next important group discovered, for this is the first time any of these have been brought before the world, were those of the Rio DeChelly. The party reached this point August 7th, the very hottest portion of the year, in a region noted for the intensity of the scorching rays which radiate from its bare plateau of white sandstone. The average temperature throughout the day, in the sun, was 140°. The temperature of the water in the river, in the midst of the rapid current, was 88°, and that was the coldest water to be had.

The Rio DeChelly, for a distance of about thirty-five miles above its mouth, is so canoned, and the wash, for the bed of the stream is perfectly dry the greater portion of the year, cuts from wall rock to wall rock so frequently that it is impossible to travel up it, except in the bed, and that is so tortuous and rocky in places that it would be difficult, if not impossible. Making a detour to the right, the first opening into the canon was reached ten miles above. In here an interesting and extensive ruin was found, which was so well

preserved that it seemed to have been vacated less than a score of years, and so near like the workmanship and manner of building of the present Moquis that it would not be difficult to imagine them lurking among the deserted rooms. This ruin was situated in a long cave-like bench or mesa, running along the face of a perpendicular bluff some fifty feet above its base, and a total length of nearly 300 yards. The town was irregularly, but compactly built, conforming to the rock upon which it was placed, the rooms arranged in a single row most of the way, but at either end bunching up to two and three deep. A ground plan shows seventy-five rooms, with many little irregular "cubby holes," with a total length of 548 feet. A few yards further to the right a half dozen detached buildings, cisterns, and reservoirs yet remain perfect enough to show their purpose. In the center of the mass was a well preserved circular apartment, a little below the general level of the others, that was probably an *estufa*. The goat corrals were inside between the houses and the bluff. Digging beneath the debris several pieces of finely preserved pottery were found, the same finely ornamented and glazed ware of which the fragments are so universally scattered over the whole country. Beneath the center of the town there was found in one group some whole jars of about two gallons capacity each, of the grey indented ware, but they were too fragile to transport upon pack mules. Besides the pottery, many stone implements and arrow points were unearthed. Another detour to the right, this time over an elevated plateau of white sandstone, across which were drifted great dunes of white sand, brought the party to the famous, so called, diamond fields of Arizona, about which there was such an excitement in 1872. Lingering on its bare red plain, upon which the sun beat with redoubled intensity, only long enough to gather about a pint of garnets, which were of excellent quality, and very abundant, camp was made at the foot of a side canon which came in from the west, and was known as the Canon Bonito Chiquito. Another group of ruins occurred here, not in a large town, but in scattered houses, both up and down the DeChelly and the Bonito. A marked feature was great reservoirs, in which there was, even now, abundant and excellent water. Two or three miles below, in the canon of the main stream, was a well preserved two-story house

standing upon a bench elevated fifty feet above the valley, and overhung by a great roof of rock that effectually shielded it from the storms. Near by was a great natural reservoir filled with good water. Another five or six miles and the canon of the DeChelly opened out into a great valley, from one to three miles in width, and extending up to the foot of the great canon near Fort Defiance. Twenty-five to thirty-five miles above the Bonito are some peculiar table rocks and monuments that form notable landmarks. The ruins are now scarce, only a few being met with in the caves at the side of the valley. The bottom lands bear the impress of very numerous ruins, adobe, very likely, that are now almost entirely obliterated, and would hardly be noticed were it not for the broken pottery.

At the head of the valley of the DeChelly the trail turned off to the southwest, just above the upper edge of the great white mesa. Taking only two others, Mr. Barber and Lee, the guide, and sending the remainder of the train back some fifty miles where there was suitable grazing, Mr. Jackson continued over to the Moquis Pueblo, seventy-five miles distant, with only the photographic apparatus and supplies for five days. Tequa was reached by noon of the following day. As these pueblos have been so frequently described and illustrated, the party spent only two days and a half among the six most easterly towns, viz: Tequa, Se-chum-e-way, Moqui, Moo-she-neh, Shong-a-pah-wee, and She-paul-a-wee. Photographs of each of these were made, and numerous sketches illustrating their habits, dress, and occupations, collections of recent and ancient pottery and tools, and other objects of interest were made. The comparison between the workmanship of the northern town builders and these Moquis was very much in favor of the former. The highest perfection was reached in the cliff houses of the Rio Mancos, where some of the houses were marvels of finish and durability, and then traveling toward the Moquis, there is a gradual merging of one style into the other, from the neatly cut rock and correct angles to the comparatively crude buildings now inhabited.

Retracing their steps to the San Juan, at the mouth of the DeChelly, the party now traveled northward toward the Sierra Abajo, up a stream known as Epsom creek, from the water which is found near its head tasting and operating like that salt. The usual indefinite ruins which occur on the low lands continued up this valley over thirty miles. To the west was a great labyrinth of canons running off into those of the Great Colorado, an examination of some of which discovered many cave and cliff houses and towns, all of

the same general type as the others. The ruins gradually diminished as they approached the Sierra Abajo, and several days spent in the examination of the canons and plateaus about it and the Sierra La Sal failed to bring to light any more evidences of their occupation.

Nearly opposite the Sierra Abajo or Blue Mountains, as they are locally known, heads the great canons and valley of the Montezuma which empties into the San Juan. Here the bottoms of the canons have once supported a very thickly settled community. There is almost a continuous series of ruins for a distance of twenty-five miles. This in one canon only, and all the others contain numerous remains, chiefly in cliff houses and towns. In the main canon first spoken of are two ruins notable for the size of the stones employed in their construction. In one built upon a small isolated table land in the middle of the valley are stones set upon end, six feet in length by eighteen inches square, and ranged along the walls a distance of twenty-five or thirty yards. Another case is where stones seven feet in height (above ground) and twenty inches square are standing perpendicularly about five feet apart, and form one side of a wall inclosing the ruins of a large important building. Throughout the canons every available defensive point has been utilized and is now covered with the remains of heavy walls and large blocks of houses. Another singular feature was the number of holes cut into the perpendicular lower wall of the canon for the purpose of ascending the rocks, holes just large enough to give hand and foot hold, and leading either to some walled-up cave or to a building erected above. Some of these steps ascend the nearly perpendicular face of the rock for 150 or 200 feet. On exposed surfaces, disintegrations has almost entirely weathered away the holes, while on more protected surfaces they are deep enough to still answer their original purpose. The main western branch of the Montezuma contains the greater number and more important ruins of all northern tributaries of the San Juan west of the Rio Mancos. Water was found in a few pools near its head, and lower down running along in a small stream a distance of two or three miles, when it sank again. The bottoms are rich, and the present Indians, Utes, who occupy the country, raise good crops of corn without irrigation.

The results of this trip was the collection of a large number of utensils, both modern and ancient, stone arrow and spear points, knives, and axes, photographs, especially illustrative of the most important ruins, and numerous sketches of everything of note, which will be brought out in detail in the regular publications of the survey.



ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE  
GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

The annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the year ending June 30, 1875, contains a large amount of useful and interesting information even for the general reader, including a statement of the surveys of the public lands during the last year; the comparative progress of surveys and disposals of public lands during the last ten years; the surveys of Indian lands and of abandoned military reservations; astronomical surveys of boundaries between States and Territories; a description of the principal surveying bases and meridians governing the surveys of the public lands; operations under the laws relating to private land claims, donation claims, mission claims, Indian cases, and certain cases of scrip in Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico; reports in relation to pre-emption and homesteads and operations under the town site laws; reports on timber culture and the rights of Indians on the public lands, also in regard to lands granted for educational purposes; useless military reservations and what to do with them; operations under the mining laws in Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Oregon; report of the location of lands with military bounty-land warrants, including Revolutionary bounty land scrip, also with agricultural college scrip, and showing the number of acres located in the several States and Territories with bounty land warrants during the last fiscal year; a statement of the progress made in the adjustment of land grants for railroad purposes, and of the disposal of swamp lands; a report of the decisions rendered affecting private land claims, concerning lands chiefly in California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington Territory; decisions of the Department during the last fiscal year under the pre-emption and homestead laws, and those affecting mining rights; decisions affecting lands lying within railroad grants, also those affecting the holders of military bounty land warrants; a complete list of the circulars issued by the General Land Office during the past year; a list of the United

States surveyors general, with their respective places of residence, also of the district land offices, with the changes made during the last year, and the annual reports of the surveyors general for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.

The report also contains a large number of valuable tabular statements showing the extent of the surveys of the public lands, not only during the past year, but all lands surveyed since the beginning of the surveying system in this country, with the amount still remaining unsurveyed in each of the States and Territories; a statement of lands sold, and of those entered under the homestead law of 1862, and the land located with agricultural college scrip under the act of July 2, 1862, and supplemental acts, also the selections of swamp lands that have been approved and patented for the several States; statements of lands granted for the construction of canals, railroads, and military wagon roads, also estimates of the various appropriations needed for the next fiscal year for the use of General Land Office and its dependencies.

The report shows a falling off in the disposals of public lands under various heads during the last year, as compared with the preceding year, of 2,460,601 acres, and that the decrease in entries made for actual settlement is found to be 1,500,880 acres. This is attributable, in part, to the devastation of grasshoppers, to severe droughts in some localities, and to a decrease in emigration. It is thought that this decrease will be likely to continue, not only for the reasons assigned, but because the area of public lands desirable for homestead settlement is becoming very small, and the construction of railroads in the sparsely inhabited portions of the country has almost entirely ceased.

The Commissioner earnestly urges the necessity of future legislation to protect the interests of the Government in relation to the survey and sale of pine, fir, and other valuable timber lands. Experience shows that through the facilities furnished by that provision of the pre-emption laws which, for

unoffered lands, extends to applicants a credit of thirty-three months, opportunity is found, under cover of the "declaratory statement" which gives to the pre-emptor protection in his possession of the tract, to strip the lands of their timber, and thereupon to abandon them without even the payment of the minimum price.

Another class of timbered lands not heretofore referred to in the reports from that office are the wooded portions of the mountain ranges of the West, including the Pacific slope. Only a small portion of these lands has been surveyed, and they are not in the market, and yet, in the vicinity of mining localities, large sections of country are stripped of timber by depredators, who take what they want, and the loss falls on the Government. The Commissioner recommends that this class of lands be surveyed and sold, wherever practicable, and says that the homestead and pre-emption laws have no proper application to such lands, and this fact should be declared by statute. In making sale of these timbered lands, he thinks the United States should reserve the unqualified right to all valuable deposits of minerals that may be found in them, with full power, except as to any trees remaining thereon, to sell the same, upon application, under the mining laws.

Referring to the lands west of the one hundredth meridian, the Commissioner says that—

The early practice of the Government indicates that the public lands were at first regarded and administered solely with a view to the revenue to be derived from their sale. Gradually, however, the view was asserted that the real profit to the Treasury and to the people at large was not to be found in largest measure in the consideration paid, but rather in the productive forces which settlement and cultivation would necessarily bring into play. This idea has been formulated into a policy, and since the act of May 20, 1862, commonly known as the homestead law, has been the leading purpose in all legislative and executive action.

Thus far in the administration of the laws the general wisdom of the existing policy is amply shown. A period has, however, now been reached when exception ought to be made.

Legislation and executive practice have

heretofore been suggested and controlled by the physical and climatic conditions prevailing between the eastern boundary of the State of Ohio and the central portions of the States of Kansas and Nebraska, covering the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri rivers, and extending from the eighty-first degree to the ninety-fifth degree of west longitude. This is well classified as the "fertile belt" of the continent. To this region, agricultural in its every feature, both the exactions of the homestead and pre-emption laws in the matter of residence and cultivation upon the tract entered, and the limitation of quantity allowed to be taken by any one person, are of undoubted applicability. Beyond and westward of this belt, or in all that section lying between the one hundredth meridian on the east, and the Cascade Range and Sierra Nevada Mountains on the west, and, within these limits, from the Mexican line on the south to the international boundary on the north, a totally different set of conditions, geographical, physical, and climatic, are found to exist. Within this vast area agriculture, as understood and pursued in the valley of the Mississippi and to the eastward, has no existence. Irrigation is indispensable to production. That there are limited areas within which by its aid crops are and may be secured is true, but the proportion of land within the area now treated of, which, under the present system of disposals, can by this means be made productive, is insignificant. Under a system which would justify large expenditures and insure the utilization for purposes of irrigation of the whole volume of water reaching the valleys from the mountain streams, but a mere fraction of the whole great area could be made fit for tillage.

Leaving out of view the great mineral wealth of the region under discussion, and treating only of that portion of it supposed to fall within the purview of the laws for the disposal of the public lands not mineral, it may be safely affirmed that, except in the immediate valleys of the mountain streams, where by dint of individual effort water may be diverted for irrigating purposes, title to the public lands cannot be honestly acquired under the homestead laws. That cultivation and improvement which are required, and which are made to stand in the place of price, are impossible; and, if attempted, are without result. But the vast areas here referred to are not without value, and for a large acreage purchasers would be found if a system of sale should be authorized in accordance with the necessities of the situation.

I have adverted to the fact that the immediate valleys of the streams may be made productive by resort to irrigation, and this, too, without a larger outlay than could be

provided for by the occupants of tracts limited as to extent by the provisions of the homestead and pre-emption laws. But there is a still larger area, possessing in equal measure the natural elements of fertility, which, under a liberal system of purchase, would also be utilized for farming purposes. I refer to lands lying along the general course of such streams as bear a volume of water larger than is required for irrigating the narrow margins of "first bottom" along their courses, to the mesa, or table lands of the central plateau. For their reclamation a system necessarily expensive, because involving canals or main ditches of great length and size, is required; and, hence, associated capital must be called upon to furnish the means of success. But the security for its repayment, even the inducement to furnish it, must be found in the lands to be benefited. It is only necessary to make this suggestion for it to become manifest that so long as disposals are hampered by the requirements, and restricted to the quantities prescribed by the homestead and pre-emption laws, this class of lands must remain undisposed of, and their present waste condition be perpetuated.

Thus far I have treated of the limited portions of the central plateau, which, under favorable conditions can be made to contribute in some measure to the volume of the cereal and vegetable products of the country. A still larger proportion of the belt now under consideration finds profitable use in the pasturage of large herds of domestic animals, sheep, cattle, and horses. The pasturage of the plains and mountain valleys is of great excellence. But here, again, the conditions under which that industry is prosecuted bear no similitude to those under which the same business is conducted within the "fertile belt," and the same incongruity is found in the application of existing public land laws, when tried by the reasonable wants of those in the stock business, as has been seen to exist in the case of the only lands fit for general farming uses. The quantity of land necessary to the support of a given number of domestic animals on the table lands is very largely in excess of that required for the profitable pasturage of a like number in the fertile belt. The excellence of the pasturage of the plains and valleys consists in the fact that the grasses, though thin and of slow growth, retain their nutritious qualities throughout the entire year, and in the further fact that, for the present, the range is only limited by the possibility of reaching suitable watering places.

For grazing purposes the limitation of the right of purchase to one quarter-section, and that under the impossible condition of cultivation, is to forbid the acquisition of

title to pasture lands by citizens "careful of their proofs," and is, in effect, to withhold absolutely from sale that which, in fact, is now the largest remaining class of the public lands.

From the foregoing recitations it will be perceived that I have reached the conclusion that both public and private interests demand that that body of surveyed land within the "central plateau," so called, not embraced in the first bottom of the streams, and commonly known in the region where situated, as the mesa lands, ought to be offered at the earliest possible day for cash purchase, and thereafter that portion remaining unsold be subject to private entry at \$1.25 per acre. To the extent to which sales could be made the Treasury ought to be replenished from this source. Persons desiring to acquire title ought to be relieved from the necessity of making questionable affidavits requisite under the homestead and pre-emption laws. Every hinderance to the fullest possible production in this region ought to be removed. The mining industry of the mountains, though in its infancy, demands of food products a large share of all that are raised within the contiguous country. Referring again to the particular matter of the pasture lands, the policy of such sale may be urged as necessary to the good order of the communities where the business is generally prosecuted, as well as on the ground of justice to the class engaged in the pasturage calling. The present policy compels them to use the public lands as their feeding ground, having no better right to their selected range as against another whose purposes or seeming convenience may lead to an attempted occupation of the same ground than they may be able to assert by forcible means. Conflicts and uncertainties necessary follow upon this state of things, to the detriment alike of order and development. This result must be intensified as the herds increase and desirable localities become monopolized.

Seeing no remedy for these threatening evils so long as the exclusive policy of withholding the public lands from sale is continued, interested parties have suggested a system of leasing by which, for a reasonable rental, designated tracts might be held in individual control for pasturage purposes only; subject, however, to be defeated as to any part of the tract so held by a sale thereof under existing laws. I find, on examination of the "Crown lands occupation acts" of New South Wales of 1861, and of the "Crown lands alienation act" of 1868 of the Colony of Queensland, that a system of leasing having the features above indicated is applied to the pasturage districts of these colonies. That such a system might be advantageously adopted within our own grazing

districts west of the one hundredth meridian is possible. It is not, however, in consonance with the established methods of our land system, and would require legislation to authorize it. I am of the opinion that the immediate necessities of the situation can be better met by an offering of this class of lands at public sale. This can be done to the extent that surveys have progressed, under the provisions of existing law.

I have endeavored generally to indicate that offerings of the public lands west of the one hundredth meridian would not be inimical to the objects of the prevailing policy, which has tended to restrict disposals to the homestead and pre-emption laws. The facts will justify the declaration that the policy of restriction has retarded actual settlement in this region, while the record shows that in many localities it has been the fruitful source of fraud—fraud so glaring as to call into exercise the powers of grand juries—not, however, into successful or preventive exercise. Prosecutions for irregularities in obtaining title to the public lands find little sympathy among communities hindered in general and individual progress by being made subject to conditions inappropriate to their surroundings.

I recommend, therefore, without hesitation, as a matter of justice, both to the individual settler and the communities interested, as well as in view of the amount to be secured to the Treasury in reimbursement of the large sums expended for surveys and the general administration of the land system, that the policy of public offerings authorized by law be resumed at an early day as to lands west of the one hundredth meridian embraced in the description of mesa or table lands.

The report contains valuable statistics relating to the mines of Nevada, Utah, and Montana.

The product of the mines of the State of Nevada for the year commencing July 1, 1874, and ending June 30, 1875, was as follows:

Name of county.	No. of tons extracted.	Gross yield, or value.
Elko.....	8,001	\$242,264 09
Esmeralda.....	6,659	489,643 39
Esnecka.....	66,479	3,180,644 40
Humboldt.....	7,801	288,592 60
Lander.....	7,367	891,607 97
Lincoln.....	23,411	656,773 22
Lyon.....	1,600	25,940 83
Nye.....	13,268	619,861 12
Storey.....	562,239	23,785,151 03
White Pine.....	15,902	806,582 78
Totals.....	712,731	30,987,061 43
Ores.....	712,731	30,987,061 43
Tailings.....	126,907	791,874 87
Borax.....	465	55,500 00

In Utah Territory there are eighty-six mining districts, the most important of which are Little Cottonwood, Big Cottonwood, Parley Park or Uintah, West Mountain or Bingham Canyon, Ophir, American Fork, Lake Side, Rush Valley, Camp Floyd, East and West Tintic and Beaver, in all of which silver, lead, and copper exist in inexhaustible quantities.

Large deposits of gold ore are found in American Fork, Bingham Canyon, and Uintah districts.

There are fifty-three reduction-works, viz:

Smelting-works.....	31
Arrastras.....	4
Separating and refining.....	1
Concentrating.....	4
Stamp-mills.....	13
Total.....	53

Ore, bullion, &c., produced from June 30, 1874, to June 30, 1875:

Silver-lead-ore, 6,978 tons, at \$100.....	\$697,800
Copper-ore, 380 tons, at \$51.50.....	19,570
Base bullion, 15,744 tons, at \$250.....	3,936,000
Copper bullion, 65 tons, at \$250.....	16,250
Pure lead, 2,500 tons, at \$100.....	250,000
Gold-dust, 2,450 ozs., at \$18.....	43,700
Silver bars, 705,000 ozs., at \$1.25.....	881,250
Total.....	5,844,570

In Montana Territory the yield of the placer claims during the last year is estimated at \$2,500,000. Rich placers are being worked in the vicinity of Jefferson City that yielded \$350 per week to the man.

The yield of the gold quartz lodes in Montana during the last year is estimated at \$1,500,000. There is great interest manifested in its silver lodes. Many new and rich districts have been brought into favorable notice, and large returns and good profits have been realized. The lack of railroad transportation is, however, a great drawback to the mining operations in this Territory, and more good smelting works are much needed. Rich deposits of copper have been discovered, chiefly in the vicinity of Helena and Copperopolis. Extensive beds of bituminous and semi-bituminous coal have been found. Wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and vegetables generally, are cultivated successfully, and yield handsome returns. Considerable attention is also given to stock-raising, with favorable results.

The report of the Surveyor General of

Arizona shows an increasing interest and development of the mining operations in that Territory. Within forty miles of Tucson gold placers of an unexpectedly rich character have been discovered recently. In the Pinal mountains, north of the Gila valley, remarkably large deposits of silver have been discovered. Nuggets of native silver weighing from one ounce to thirty-four pounds have been taken from these mines.

In Mohave and Yuma counties rich discoveries of gold and silver have been made, and every steamer via the Colorado river and Gulf of California carries tons of ore and bullion to San Francisco. In the vicinity of Prescott a section containing gold placers and gold and silver lodes in great numbers, new and much richer in developments than heretofore discovered, have recently been found, and the facilities for the reduction of ore are being increased. It is expected that during the present year the Southern Pacific Railroad of California will reach the Colorado river on the western border of the Territory, which will afford quicker and cheaper transportation, and inevitably give renewed impetus to all branches of industry within its borders.

One of the singular climatic features of Arizona is the fact that there are copious rains there in the months of July and August, which revive vegetation at a time when other sections of the country are liable to drought. Copper is being profitably mined in eastern Arizona. It is one of the most favorable Territories for stock growing. Those who have introduced flocks and herds are increasing them rapidly. Stock of all kinds is kept fat the year round by grazing alone, without shelter at any time. Grain, vegetables, and fruits are successfully cultivated. Peace prevails in every part of the Territory, and people go when and where they please without molestation by the Indians.

United States land officers are located at the following named points in the different States and Territories:

Ohio, Chillicothe; Indiana, Indianapolis; Illinois, Springfield; Missouri, Boonville, Iron-ton, Springfield; Alabama, Mobile, Hunts-

ville, Montgomery; Mississippi, Jackson; Louisiana, New Orleans, Monroe, Natchitoches; Michigan, Detroit, East Saginaw, Ionia, Marquette, Traverse City; Arkansas, Little Rock, Camden, Harrison, Dardanelle; Florida, Gainesville; Iowa, Fort Des Moines, Sioux City; Wisconsin, Menasha, Falls of St. Croix, Wausau, La Crosse, Bayfield, Eau Claire; California, San Francisco, Marysville, Humboldt, Stockton, Valia, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Shasta, Susanville, Independence; Nevada, Carson City, Eureka, Pioche, Elko; Washington Territory, Olympia, Vancouver, Walla Walla; Minnesota, Taylor's Falls, Saint Cloud, Du Luth, Alexandria, Worthington, New Ulm, Litchfield, Detroit, Redwood Falls; Oregon, Oregon City, Roseburg, Le Grand, Linkville, Dalles; Dakota Territory, Sioux Falls, Springfield, Fargo, Yankton, Bismarck; Nebraska, Norfolk, Beatrice, Lincoln, Niobrara, Grand Island, North Platte, Bloomington; New Mexico Territory, Santa Fe, La Mesilla; Kansas, Topeka, Salina, Independence, Wichita, Kirwin, Concordia, Larned, Hays City; Colorado Territory, Denver City, Fair Play, Central City, Pueblo, Del Norte; Idaho Territory, Boise City, Lewiston; Montana Territory, Helena, Bozeman; Arizona Territory, Prescott, Florence; Utah Territory, Salt Lake City; Wyoming Territory, Cheyenne.

The United States surveyors general and their offices are given as follows:

C. W. Babcock, Lawrence, Kansas; J. H. Baker, St. Paul, Minnesota; Wm. P. Dewey, Yankton, Dakota Territory; T. B. Searight, Denver City, Colorado Territory; L. F. Cartee, Boise City, Idaho Territory; James T. Stratton, San Francisco, California; E. S. Davis, Virginia City, Nevada; James K. Proudft, Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory; Benjamin Simpson, Eugene City, Oregon; William McMicken, Olympia, Washington Territory; J. R. Clark, Plattsmouth, Nebraska; A. J. Smith, Helena, Montana Territory; Nathan Kimball, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory; John Wasson, Tucson, Arizona Territory; Leroy DeBall, Tallahassee, Florida; O. H. Brewster, New Orleans, Louisiana; E. C. David, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory.

*Tabular statement showing the number of acres of public lands surveyed in the following land States and Territories up to June 30, 1874, during the fiscal year, and the total of the public land surveyed up to June 30, 1875; also the total area of the public domain remaining unsurveyed within the same.*

Land States and Territories.	Areas of public land in States and Territories.		Number of acres of public lands surveyed—				Total area of public lands remaining unsurveyed, and, of course, unoffered and undisposed of, inclusive of the area of private land claims surveyed up to June 30, 1875.
	In acres.	In square miles.	Up to June 30, 1874.	Prior to June 30, 1874, not heretofore reported.	Within the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.	Total up to June 30, 1875.	
Wisconsin ..	34,511,390	53,924	34,511,390	.....	.....	34,511,390	.....
Iowa ..	35,228,800	55,045	35,228,800	.....	.....	35,228,800	.....
Minnesota ..	53,459,840	83,531	35,897,912	10,749.74	α1,169,904.93	37,078,567	16,381,273
Kansas ..	51,769,976	80,891	45,770,685	2,622,257.74	3,577,032.80	51,769,976	.....
Nebraska ..	48,656,800	75,935	32,372,410	.....	2,186,252.48	34,558,662	14,078,138
California ..	130,947,840	188,981	38,905,776	1,001,118.55	1,200,076.55	41,015,972	79,931,868
Nevada ..	71,757,741	112,000	8,898,194	178,131.81	1,173,016.55	10,071,210	61,686,531
Oregon ..	60,975,390	95,274	15,255,617	.....	1,385,982.85	16,849,735	44,155,655
Washington ..	44,793,160	69,991	10,190,046	177,118.80	2,022,950.57	11,290,115	33,506,045
Colorado ..	66,880,000	104,500	15,983,086	.....	2,109,355.69	17,792,442	49,087,558
Utah ..	54,035,075	84,476	5,984,792	.....	662,113.51	6,646,905	47,418,170
Arizona ..	72,905,304	113,916	3,135,753	23,009.00	348,048.14	3,506,801	69,399,494
N. Mexico ..	77,568,640	121,201	5,486,185	.....	722,906.92	6,209,092	71,359,548
Dakota ..	94,595,840	150,932	13,863,913	.....	e2,874,937.67	16,738,351	79,856,989
Idaho ..	53,228,160	86,294	4,014,953	.....	905,221.28	4,920,174	50,307,986
Montana ..	92,016,640	143,776	6,784,481	.....	1,208,683.81	7,993,165	84,023,475
Wyoming ..	62,645,120	97,883	4,748,841	194,908.23	1,527,373.84	6,471,123	56,173,997
Missouri ..	41,824,000	63,550	41,824,000	.....	.....	41,824,000	.....
Alabama ..	32,462,080	50,722	32,462,080	.....	.....	32,462,080	.....
Mississippi ..	30,179,840	47,155	30,179,840	.....	.....	30,179,840	.....
Louisiana ..	26,461,440	41,346	25,903,253	113,269.19	123,409.06	24,139,931	2,321,509
Arkansas ..	33,403,720	52,108	33,403,720	.....	.....	33,403,720	.....
Florida ..	37,931,520	59,268	29,345,870	461,944.29	.....	29,807,814	8,123,706
Ohio ..	25,576,960	39,064	25,576,960	.....	.....	25,576,960	.....
Indiana ..	21,637,760	33,809	21,637,760	.....	.....	21,637,760	.....
Michigan ..	36,128,640	56,451	36,128,640	.....	.....	36,128,640	.....
Illinois ..	35,462,400	53,410	35,462,400	.....	.....	35,462,400	.....
Indian ..	44,154,240	68,991	22,832,725	.....	dA,171,264.81	27,003,990	17,150,250
Alaska ..	369,529,600	577,300	.....	.....	.....	369,529,600	.....
Total .....	1,834,724,856	2,866,758	649,393,052	4,782,510.35	26,077,531.86	680,253,094	1,154,471,762

(a) Of the surveys in Minnesota, 43,972 acres of the reservation for the Chippewas of the Mississippi, per treaty of March 19, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 16, page 719), were subdivided into sections; also 240,485 acres of the White Earth Indian reservation, per same treaty.

(b) Of the surveys in Washington Territory, 178,861 acres are of the Yakama Indian reservation, under treaty of June 9, 1855, (Statutes, vol. 12, page 551,) and 7,169 acres of the Swinomish Indian reservation, under treaty of January 22, 1855, (Statutes, vol. 12, page 927,) both subdivided into 40-acre tracts.

(c) Of the surveys in Dakota Territory, 187,959 acres are of the Yankton Sioux reservation, under treaty of April 19, 1858, (Statutes, vol. 11, page 743,) subdivided into 40-acre tracts, and 587,840 acres of the Old Winnebago and Sioux Indian reservation, subdivided partly into 40-acre tracts, and the remainder into sections. Treaty of April 29, 1868, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 635.)

(d) Of the surveys in Indian Territory, 479,667 acres are of the reservation for the Sac and Fox Indians of Mississippi, under treaty of February 18, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 495.) This is a subdivision into 40-acre tracts of a former survey of Creek ceded lands. 56,685 acres of the Quapaw, 50,301 acres of the Peoria, 17,088 acres of the Shawnee, 21,406 acres of the Wyandotte, and 51,958 acres of the Seneca Indian lands in Indian Territory were subdivided into 40-acre tracts. Treaty of February 23, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 513.) The surveys in Indian Territory also include 3,494,240 acres of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian reservation and Choctaw and Chickasaw ceded lands, surveyed into sections. Treaty of October 21, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, pages 681 and 589.)



*Historical and statistical table of the United States and Territories, showing the area of each in square miles and in acres; the date of organization of Territories; date of admission of new States into the Union; and the population of each State and Territory at the taking of the last census in 1870.\**

The thirteen original States.						Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
						Sq. ms.	Acres.	
New Hampshire.....						9,280	5,939,200	318,300
Massachusetts.....						7,800	4,992,000	1,457,351
Rhode Island.....						1,306	835,840	217,353
Connecticut.....						4,750	3,040,000	537,454
New York.....						47,000	30,080,000	4,382,759
New Jersey.....						8,320	5,324,800	906,096
Pennsylvania.....						46,000	29,40,000	3,521,951
Delaware.....						2,120	1,356,800	125,015
Maryland.....						11,124	7,119,360	780,894
Virginia—East and West.....						61,352	39,265,280	1,607,177
North Carolina.....						50,704	32,450,560	1,071,361
South Carolina.....						34,000	21,760,000	705,603
Georgia.....						58,000	37,120,000	1,184,109

  

States admitted.	Act organizing Territory.	U. S. Stat's.	Act admitting State.	U. S. Stat's.	Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
					Sq. ms.	Acres.	
Kentucky.....			Fb. 4, 1791	1 189	37,680	24,115,200	1,321,011
Vermont.....			Fb. 18, 1791	1 191	10,212	6,535,680	330,551
Tennessee.....			Jun. 1, 1796	1 491	45,600	29,184,000	1,258,520
Ohio.....	O'line 1787		Ap. 30, 1802	2 173	39,964	25,576,960	2,665,360
Louisiana.....	M'h 3, 1805	2 331	Ap. 8, 1812	2 701	41,346	26,461,440	726,915
Indiana.....	M'y 7, 1800	2 58	De. 11, 1816	3 339	33,809	21,637,760	1,680,637
Mississippi.....	Apr. 7, 1798	1 549	De. 10, 1817	3 472	47,156	30,179,840	827,922
Illinois.....	Fb. 3, 1809	2 514	De. 3, 1818	3 535	55,410	35,402,400	2,539,891
Alabama.....	M'h 3, 1817	3 371	De. 14, 1819	3 608	50,722	32,462,080	995,922
Maine.....			M'h 3, 1820	3 544	35,000	22,400,000	626,915
Missouri.....	Jun. 4, 1812	2 743	M'h 2, 1821	3 645	65,350	41,824,000	1,721,205
Arkansas.....	M'h 2, 1819	3 493	Jun. 15, 1836	5 50	52,198	33,408,720	484,471
Michigan.....	Ja. 11, 1805	2 309	Ja. 26, 1837	5 144	56,451	36,128,640	1,184,659
Florida.....	M'h 30, 1822	3 654	M'h 3, 1845	5 742	59,268	37,931,520	187,748
Iowa.....	Jun. 12, 1838	5 235	M'h 3, 1845	5 742	55,045	35,228,800	1,194,020
Texas.....			De. 29, 1845	9 108	274,356	175,587,840	818,579
Wisconsin.....	Ap. 20, 1836	5 10	M'h 3, 1847	9 178	53,924	34,511,360	1,054,670
California.....			Se. 9, 1850	9 452	188,981	120,947,840	560,247
Minnesota.....	M'h 3, 1849	9 403	Fb. 25, 1857	11 166	83,531	53,450,840	439,706
Oregon.....	Aug. 14, 1848	9 323	Fb. 14, 1859	11 383	95,274	60,975,360	90,923
Kansas.....	M'y 30, 1854	10 277	Ja. 29, 1861	12 126	80,891	51,769,976	364,399
West Virginia.....			De. 31, 1862	12 633	25,000	14,720,000	442,014
Nevada.....	M'h 2, 1861	12 209	M'h 21, 1864	13 30	112,000	71,737,744	42,491
Colorado.....	Fb. 28, 1861	12 172			104,500	66,880,000	39,464
Nebraska.....	M'y 30, 1854	10 277	Fb. 9, 1867	14 391	75,995	48,636,800	122,993

  

Territories.	Act organizing Territory.	U. S. Stat's.	Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
			Sq. miles.	Acres.	
Wyoming.....	Jy. 25, 1868	15 178	97,833	62,645,120	9,111
New Mexico.....	Se. 9, 1850	9 446	121,201	77,568,640	91,874
Utah.....	Se. 9, 1850	9 453	84,476	54,065,072	86,786
Washington.....	M'h 2, 1853	10 172	69,994	44,796,160	23,955
Dakota.....	M'h 2, 1861	12 239	150,462	96,565,840	14,181
Arizona.....	Fb. 24, 1863	12 664	113,916	72,909,394	9,658
Idaho.....	M'h 3, 1863	12 808	86,294	55,228,160	14,199
Montana.....	M'y 26, 1864	13 85	143,776	92,016,640	20,595
Indian.....			68,991	44,154,240	.....
District of Columbia.....	Jy. 16, 1790	1 130	10 m'ths sq.		131,700
Alaska†.....	M'h 3, 1791	1 214			
	Jy. 27, 1868	15 240	577,390	365,529,600	.....

\* The whole area of the States and Territories, including water surface of lakes and rivers, is nearly equal to four million square miles.

† Boundaries.—Commencing at 54 degrees 40 seconds north latitude ascending Portland Channel to the mountains, following their summits to 141 degrees west longitude; thence north on this line to the Arctic Ocean, forming the eastern boundary. Starting from the Arctic Ocean west, the line descends Behring Strait, between the two islands of Krusenstern and Retzmann, to the parallel of 65 degrees 30 seconds, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same Arctic Ocean. Beginning again at the same initial point, on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 seconds, thence in a course southwest, through Behring Strait, between the island of St. Lawrence and Cape Chukotski, to the 172d degree west longitude, and thence southwest ly through Behring Sea, between the islands of Afion and Copper, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, leaving the prolonged group of the Aleutian Islands in the possessions now transferred to the United States, and making the western boundary of our country the dividing line between Asia and America.

*Synopsis of the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.*

	<i>Acres.</i>
Disposals of public lands by ordinary cash sales.....	745,061.30
Military bounty land warrant locations, under acts of 1847, 1850, 1852, and 1855.....	137,000.00
Homestead entries.....	2,356,057.69
Timber-culture entries.....	464,870.16
Agricultural college scrip locations.....	9,432.02
Certified to railroads.....	3,107,643.14
Land approved to States as swamp.....	47,721.25
Certified for agricultural colleges.....	22,321.24
Certified for common schools.....	142,388.11
Certified for universities.....	16,454.04
Internal-improvement selections approved to States.....	8,614.25
Sioux half-breed scrip locations.....	1,526.45
Chippewa half-breed scrip locations.....	11,181.64
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>7,070,271.29</b>
Disposals of previous year.....	9,530,872.93
<b>Decrease in disposals.....</b>	<b>2,460,601.64</b>

CASH RECEIPTS UNDER VARIOUS HEADS.

Purchase money of land sold.....	\$1,382,281.52
Homestead fees.....	185,970.00
Commissions.....	150,125.80
Timber-culture fees.....	36,430.00
Commissions.....	14,572.00
Agricultural college scrip fees.....	236.00
Fees for exemplifications furnished by General Land Office.....	5,385.95
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,784,001.27</b>

	<i>Acres.</i>
Total area of the land States and Territories.....	1,834,724,856.00
Surveys during past fiscal year.....	26,077,531.86
Previously surveyed.....	634,175,562.35
<b>Total surveyed to June 30, 1875.....</b>	<b>680,253,094.21</b>
<b>Leaving yet to be surveyed.....</b>	<b>1,154,471,762.79</b>

## THE RESULT OF FALSE IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT.

It has been said that words are things, and if so, ideas are greater things. To all moderately educated minds this is a truism, old and stale, but to the mass of ignorant and unreflecting people there is no meaning in it whatever. The masses do not look much at thoughts, tendencies, and principles, but to taxation, and the passing of acts which shall secure next summer and next winter "two dollars a day and roast beef." They can comprehend certain individual measures as affecting present prosperity, but have only a faint conception of the ideas which lie back of such measures. They comprehended the war, but until it actually came they did not see that certain dogmas held by one of the great parties in the country were making war inevitable. They realized the fact that rebel guns were demolishing Fort Sumter, but not that those guns were charged with the speeches of John C. Calhoun. They went to Bull Run and died by rebel bullets,

but never thought that the ammunition which projected each bullet was a Virginia resolution of '98.

The great conflict which resulted in the tread of mighty armies, and the pouring out like water the blood of our best and noblest sons, taking from mothers and wives what they most loved and most needed, and making orphans of millions of children, grew out of certain ideas that were false, ideas that are fatal to Republican government, and ideas which, persisted in, will bring another conflict of the same terrible nature, whenever the circumstances shall favor. The belief that the United States were not a nation but simply a corporation, and the Constitution was simply a compact between sovereign States, of course made the States higher than the nation, and rendered the Constitution a document of secondary importance. The people of one State came to regard the people of the other States as foreign-

ers, as alien in interest and affection, and it became the study of the leading statesmen of one section how to get the control of the National Government and use it to check the growth and advancement of the other section, instead of securing the prosperity of the whole. The slavery question, by raising an industrial interest opposed to free labor, and by creating a consolidated capital of property in slaves amounting to thousands of millions in value, greatly aggravated the situation, and so formidable and influential was this question on the politics of the country that many, yes, nearly all the great anti-slavery leaders were brought to believe that slavery alone was responsible for our troubles, which would mainly pass away with the downfall of that institution. This was the idea of Mr. Lincoln in the celebrated remark at the opening of the debate with Douglas: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. This country must either become all free or all slave." There was pretty general assent to this view of the case, and so enormous and overshadowing was slavery that the men who were confronting it naturally believed that it was the sole cause of the difficulty, when historically the fact is that the sentiments which caused the rebellion existed at the time the country was all slave; and they had an existence independent of slavery all the time. The ideas were in the Virginia resolutions of '98, they were in the great Pennsylvania whisky rebellion, which was in reality a conspiracy having for its ultimate object a Southern Confederacy, and they were at the bottom of the laws of the State of New York which granted to Fulton and Livingston the right to the exclusive use of the waters of the State for steamboat navigation, and other similar laws passed by other States: laws which were exploded, it is true, by the Supreme Court in the case of *Gibbon vs. Ogden*; but the ideas which made such laws possible have never been abandoned. These were ideas known as States' rights; but allied to them, and belonging to the same family, were prejudices against the commerce of New England that had much to do with the embargo of 1812, and other measures tending to destroy their trade and check their growth, opposition to internal

improvement, education, and generally all measures of national importance except such as were necessary for our protection against the aggressions of other nations.

Mr. Webster, in his great reply to Hayne, brought out the view we are endeavoring to present. He said: "What interest, asks he, (Mr. Hayne) has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. \* \* \* He may well ask, upon his system, what interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio! On that system, it is true, she has no interest. On that system Ohio and Carolina are two governments, and different countries, connected here, it is true, by some slight and ill-defined bond of union, but in all main respects separate and diverse. On that system Carolina has no more interest in a canal in Ohio than she has in a canal in Mexico. The gentleman, therefore, only follows out his own principles; he does no more than arrive at the natural conclusion of his own doctrines. \* \* \* Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. We look upon the States, not as separated, but united. We love to dwell on that union, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. \* \* \* We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers and mountains and lines of latitude to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. \* \* \* It was the very object of the Constitution to create unity of interests." And so on.

It will be seen from these remarks of Mr. Webster that in 1830 there existed the pernicious doctrines which led to the rebellion; and that they existed, not as the offspring of slavery merely, but as dangerous heresies at the foundation of the Virginia school of political science. They were heresies which led Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffie, and South Carolina to oppose improvements, education, and freedom, and which later led James Buchanan to deny the right of the general Government to coerce a State, and induced Jeff Davis, and Wigfall, and Stephens, and

Breckinridge to take up arms for the avowed purpose of destroying the Union and the nation. Real patriotism is impossible with men who hold to the ideas which we have been describing. A man cannot love a country whose existence he denies. This is a contradiction in terms. If the Constitution is only a compact, as has always been affirmed by the rebel Democratic school of politicians, we have no country; we are in truth "men without a country;" there is nothing national to love, and patriotism necessarily confines itself to State limits, and to be logical, to county limits, and for aught we can see, it may as well shrivel itself into town limits or ward limits, after repudiating the claims of nationality. The terrible fact of the rebellion will not be denied, and no thoughtful man will presume to deny that it was the logical consequence of the prevalence of the ideas which Hayne advanced and Webster combatted in 1830. The question which comes next is: Has that school of thinking been abolished? and then, has love of country taken the place of State pride, State affection, and the determination to maintain local interests as paramount to interests of a general, common, and national character? As these questions are candidly and fairly and truthfully answered shall we be able as reasonable men to decide our political duty in the next Presidential election; for it will not be pretended in any loyal quarter that it is the proper way to save the country, or advance the highest interests of the country to put the government thereof in the hands of men who fail in their allegiance to it, or fail in their belief in its supreme character and grand ultimate unity and perpetuity. A mistake on the tariff, a false step as to currency, or a false estimate as to the proper sum to be paid for public buildings or public works, may be rectified by future legislation, and no great harm will ensue, but an administration without the sentiment of nationality must be fatal should the enemies of the nation choose to improve their opportunity to destroy it.

To arrive at an intelligent and safe conclusion as to the dangers of the situation we should consider what was the teaching of philosophy concerning the case of the nation,

while the war was pending, in connection with the events that have actually transpired. Mr. Carl Schurz, the eminent German orator, made a speech in Cooper Institute, New York, October 6, 1862, in which he undertook to forecast coming events in case the Union arms should prove victorious. Mr. Schurz was the right man to discuss a matter of this nature, for, added to learning, great powers of mind, and a speculative disposition, he was an experimental revolutionist, having been an actor in scenes which must have forced upon him the study of consequences with singular impressiveness. Having given the subject due thought, he worked out the problem in his own mind, and in this speech gave the country the benefit of it by an illustration. He said: "Take the State of South Carolina; you beat the rebels defending its soil, and occupy the whole State with your troops. Armed resistance to the authority of the United States becomes impossible, but you want to restore the active co-operation of the people of South Carolina in the government of the United States, without which the old order of things is impossible. Now, you call upon the people of South Carolina to elect new State authorities of their own, or you impose upon them a provisional government, appointed by the President at Washington. In the first case, the people of South Carolina—a large majority of whom are disloyal, and those who are not disloyal are not loyal either, (applause,) and to a certain extent seem to be incorrigible—are most likely to elect a new set of secessionists to office. It will be a reorganization of TREASON and CONSPIRACY; for you must know that conspiracies do not only precede rebellions, but also follow unsuccessful ones." Evidently the orator knows what he is talking about. "The new State government is at once in conflict with the Federal authorities. The latter find themselves counteracted and clogged in every imaginable way." Is not this man a prophet? He made a mistake in selecting South Carolina as an illustration, but substitute for South Carolina the State of Louisiana, and he appears to be talking veritable history. After asserting that this state of things must cause sterner measures on the part of the Government of the United

States to compel order, and admitting that force as a permanent means of restoration must prove a failure, he goes on to point out the remedy in these words: "In order to restore these principles to life, the Government is obliged to trust its authority to the loyal action of the people."

This is a correct statement of what is necessary, and an accurate description of what has transpired and is transpiring in the late Confederate States. The Government did the very things Mr. Schurz predicted. It appointed the Provisional Governors, and after a brief period trusted to the loyalty of the people of the States to maintain order and build up the places made desolate by the war of the rebellion. And the Government was met precisely as was predicted by Mr. Schurz, just as soon as the rebel elements could fully organize and get their forces in hand. They did even worse than the prophet had foreseen, for he had only anticipated that a "new set of secessionists" would be elected to office, not dreaming that audacity ever was born so brazen as to put the old set back into power, as was speedily done, with the officers of the Confederate army conspicuously to the front. Mr. Schurz declared this would be a reorganization of treason and conspiracy, and that such is the result is capable of the clearest demonstration. The purpose of the General Government has been clogged and thwarted at every step. The effort to maintain order has been met by armed mobs, the citizens of the States have been dragged from their beds at midnight, and shot, hung, and tortured, to the number of many thousands, and not a court in the whole South has yet been able to punish the offenders; indeed, has not cared to do so. The negroes have been driven from their homes and murdered in cold blood simply for voting, their school-houses have been burned, and their teachers tarred and feathered for no crime but a desire to give and get an education to qualify themselves and their children for the duties of the free citizen. These men have corrupted such of the blacks as they could not intimidate, have bought Legislatures and offices, carried through bills by shameless bribes, have robbed right and left, have polluted the fountains of

justice, debauched the public sentiment, established a reign of terror in some places and a reign of rottenness in others, and wherever the Government has discountenanced it or any part of it they have scoffed, and when it has interfered to put a stop to the iniquities they have denounced and derided. That the crimes of corruption and bribery have been charged exclusively upon the carpet-baggers we well know, and that they have been guilty in many cases we are not permitted to deny, but it is not alone or chiefly the carpet-baggers who are in these things. In his public address to the citizens of New Orleans on the 28th January, 1870, Gov. Warmoth, of Louisiana, the great Conservative leader, said: "You charge the Legislature with passing corruptly many bills looking to the personal aggrandizement of individuals and corporations. Let me suggest to you that those individuals and corporations are your very best people. For instance, this bank bill that is being lobbied through the Legislature now. By the hardest kind of work we have been able to defeat that bill twice in the House, and now it is up again to be passed. Who are doing it? Your bank presidents. The best people of the city of New Orleans are crowding the lobbies of the Legislature, continually whispering into these men's ears bribes to pass this measure. Now are we to defend the State against the interposition of these people, who are potent in their influence in this community?" Mr. Warmoth is not our witness, and perhaps he lies; but if there was bribery of the negro members of the Legislature the bribes came from a source where there was money, and neither carpet-baggers nor negroes have been found guilty of riches whatever other sins may have been laid to their charge. If there was the bribery, as doubtless there was, the money was furnished by those having it, and they were the bank presidents and first citizens of cities like New Orleans.

When bribery is committed there are two parties to the crime, and the wealthy bankers of Louisiana, who all belong to the white man's party, are not in a condition to throw stones at the negro members of the Legislature whose votes they bought.

That the negroes sold their votes is an argument against electing such men to the Legislature, but it is no argument against electing a Republican Legislature. Having debauched the poor and ignorant negroes, these men must not be permitted to come in and allege that the negro is most to blame.

Of course it is a bad state of things, and we are not defending the negroes or carpet-baggers for their share in the business; but we do claim that the remedy is not to be found in putting the control into the hands of the debauchers. Returning now from the temporary digression in our main line of argument, we reassert that the prophecies of Mr. Schurz have been fulfilled; the course pointed out was taken by the Government; the rebels resumed their old power in the Confederate States, and used it against the ideas and measures of the National Union party, and in favor of the principles of the resolutions of '98, which gave birth to the rebellion. The condition of things in much of the territory of the South was well described by the late General George H. Thomas, whose testimony is unimpeachable. He said in an official report that "crime is committed because public opinion favors it or acquiesces in it. The local laws are enforced or not, according to the controlling opinion of the community. A criminal who is popular with the mob can set law at defiance; but if a man is only charged with a crime, if he is inimical to the community, he is likely to be hung to the nearest tree or shot at his own door." Thomas had a remarkably clear head and was cool in judgment. He speaks as the commander of the Department of the South, and describes the facts as he witnessed them. The facts reveal the tone and temper of society at the South. It is a temper which is a natural fruit of the rebellion. As Schurz said, "conspiracies follow as well as precede rebellions." The defeated sulk, are immeasurably chagrined at their overthrow, and hate their conquerors. Messrs. Lamar and Gordon claim otherwise and talk of the "era of good feeling," and all that, but it is contrary to history and to human nature. All the acts of the body of the late conspirators belie the assertion that they are at heart reconciled and reconstructed. Even Lamar

himself, with all his pretended acceptance of the situation, when he gave a true heart utterance, admitted that he failed to love the chosen Government of the Union. Then he spoke truthfully. Then he revealed the condition of the Southern mind, which is chronic opposition and hatred of the principles which we of the North fought for in the late war, which we gained on the battle-field, but which we are to be cheated out of by the alliance of the forces of ignorance, rebellion, and Democracy, if the alliance succeeds.

It is plain enough now that the old anti-slavery men and Mr. Schurz in 1862 were entirely mistaken in their theory of the effect of emancipation upon public opinion at the South. Slavery and freedom were hostile forces, which made a "house divided against itself" that could not stand. Free labor and slave labor were vitally opposing interests, which were the basis of permanent and bitter conflict, and it was argued that the abolition of slavery would at once harmonize these interests, and compose the elements of strife. This has not happened, and it is plain why it has not. The old slave-holding element, the dominant white race, has not accepted the situation, but only pretends to have done so. The old slave-holding class has lost two thousand millions of property in slaves, in addition to what it wasted in four years of expensive war, which amounted to two thousand millions more. This property was their capital, and the income of it furnished their means of support. Their slave labor was opposed to free labor, because the latter put the power perpetually in jeopardy. Emancipation has ended this by the total destruction of the property, but it has introduced a new conflict. The old masters cannot recognize the equality of their late slaves. They still feel themselves to be the dominating class, and so assume the prerogatives of the dominating class. They scout the idea of negro equality, and deny *in toto* his fitness to share in the Government. The instinct to keep him under remains powerful, and is strengthened by the necessity of their still living on the proceeds of his labor. There are no more offices, corporate and State, than are needed by the dominant class. This they believe, and on it they practice. To main-



tain the superiority which they assume to have by nature, they must shut the negro out of the offices, and debar him from entering the lists as a competitor for office, for business, or social position. Hence they are in deadly hostility to suffrage now, and to education which will lead to suffrage hereafter. Whatever a few cunning men like Lamar and Gordon may say, the whole spirit of Southern first-class white society has this character. It is seen in the Ku-Klux movements. It speaks in the Congressional orations of Northern Democrats, which invariably taunt the Republicans with inaugurating negro rule and negro equality at the South. It is the standing accusation against the Republican party that it favors negro equality. It is the real cause of the difference between parties to-day. It is the cement which keeps Democracy together. The Democratic party is divided on the great financial and industrial questions, the currency, tariff, internal improvements, &c., but on education and negro equality it is one, and were these two questions put to rest, as a party it would be in the throes of dissolution within twenty-four hours. Whatever collateral, or tempo-

rary, or incidental issues, like currency, extravagant expenditures, and reform, may be in the next presidential canvass, the great overshadowing and transcendently important one of nationality, of our right to be a nation, the possibility of our continuing the experiment of self government, will be the question which we are to meet, and in its solution all other questions will be involved. This one grand issue is not made for us by party conventions or ranting demagogues; it is inherent in the condition of things. It comes of itself, from the ideas which have been engendered in the Southern mind by education and circumstances. It is the last legacy of slavery, bequeathed, not by will and testament, but by the natural order of things. It must be met—we cannot avoid meeting it if we would. All that we fought for in the war is involved in it, and will be lost if the secessionists shall beat us—schools, education, free suffrage, the prosperity and progress of the South, nationality—all are involved, and with them the character of the American people; for what must be said of a people who would fight and win what they had not the wit to maintain?

### TREASURY BOOK-KEEPING.

The debate in the Senate opened by Senator Davis, of West Virginia, on discrepancies in the reports of the Treasury Department has attracted wide attention, and most of the wise men who edit Democratic newspapers, and their allies of the independent press, are quite satisfied that there is an alarming amount of rascality or incompetency in that department.

Their opinions are based, not on what they know individually on the subject, but on what is said by Senators, who know nothing whatever, if we take their own admissions, or consider the facts developed in their speeches. Mr. Davis wanted a committee of investigation. Why? Simply to find out whether anything was wrong or not. If he *knew*, of course there was no need of a committee to find out. Mr. Eaton, of Connecticut, confessed that he knew nothing, and further, owned up that he, aided by the most expert book-keeper in the Nutmeg State, des-

paired of ever being able to tell within \$50,000,000 of the amount of the public debt. Few sadder sights than this venerable Senator making such a confession have been witnessed since the war. He knows nothing, and can never know by the best light of an enlightened State within fifty millions of dollars. This is very poor buncombe. If nothing is known, and Connecticut accountants cannot find out anything, it was very unwise in him to put the figures so low, because he might with the same accuracy and safety have put them at \$200,000,000.

The statement shows on its face that the Senator is ignorant of the whole matter, as from the nature of the case he must be. He could guess with the same degree of confidence that no State in the Union knows the amount of its debt, or he might give it as his opinion that A. T. Stewart is bankrupt. What of it?

The discrepancies alluded to by Mr. Davis

were not very important in amount, but very important as mistakes, if they were undiscovered by the officers of the department, except the thirty-seven million item. The debt in one year was reported that much more than it actually was, but it hurt nobody, and the debt was not increased thereby, and no one was able to get money out of the Treasury unlawfully in consequence. It was such a mistake as insured its own detection. It could not possibly remain undiscovered, and is not and never was of the slightest consequence, only as giving occasion for a charge of carelessness.

The charges made are rather aimed at the system of book-keeping in the department, and the administration is held responsible for a very bad system according to Davis and Eaton. Let us see how this is. The system is the same which was inaugurated by Alexander Hamilton, and approved by such eminent Democrats and financiers as Albert Gallatin, Samuel Dexter, A. J. Dallas, Richard Rush, Louis McLane, Roger B. Taney, Levi Woodbury, Robert J. Walker, and Jas. Guthrie, the latter of whom pronounced it perfect. It is a little rough in Mr. Eaton to abuse the financial reputation of such eminent Democrats who in their day were thought to know a thing or two about their business, and whose administrations were supposed to reflect considerable credit upon the Democratic party. A few old fashioned persons have sometimes advanced the idea that a return of some of these perfect gentlemen would be the best thing to pray for; but that is a mistake, if the system they approved is so uncertain and defective.

As Mr. Boutwell explained the items named by Mr. Davis, there is no need to go over the same ground, and the idea can be illustrated by another example. In 1870 the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his report gave the receipts of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending 30th of June, 1870, at \$185,235,867.97; the Register for same year, \$184,899,756.49; the Fifth Auditor for same year, \$168,476,458.59.

These figures are taken from the books. The books remain unchanged, and the discrepancies at once attract attention. People who jump at conclusions immediately decry

the result as nonsense, and say that if either is right the other two must be wrong. Now it will be seen at once that there was no forcing of books to come to an agreement. Each office put forth its own figures fearlessly, and braved the consequences. Let them have credit for that. And well they might, for the explanation is very simple.

The money which gets into the United States Treasury, or out of it, does so by a warrant signed by the Secretary and other specified officers, which paper sets forth, from or to whom, and for what the money is received or paid. These particulars are entered on the books of the Comptroller, Register, and Treasurer, and in all stated accounts of the Auditor, and each warrant is compared with the several books as a check against any possible mistake or collusion; and this, so far as safety is concerned, is far superior to mercantile double entry, as collusion is rendered all but impossible. When a collector remits money, instead of sending to the Treasury actual cash, he deposits the cash in a Government depository, takes triplicate certificates, and sends one to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, one to the Secretary of the Treasury, and keeps one as a voucher to protect himself, and show that he has paid over the amount. When the Commissioner receives his certificate he enters the amount at once upon his books, and from the books he can tell the amount actually deposited by the collectors. But when the Secretary receives the duplicate certificate, to get the money into the Treasury the warrant has to be drawn and signed by the proper officers, and the comparisons must be made, which in the case of a million in small sums of \$10,000 or less is a work of days; so that at the close of the fiscal year the certificates of the last few days will be entered on the books of the Commissioner, while the warrants will not get to the Register's books in time, and they necessarily go upon the books of the succeeding year. Hence the difference between Commissioner and Register. After all this the Auditor adjusts the accounts of the several collectors, when they reach him and are in condition for settlement, which more or less of them never are in time for making up the

annual report, and as he only reports from his adjustments, all the deposits in the unadjusted accounts fail to be included, and his statement of collections is less than the Register's. All these officers are right, so far as they each go, and neither may be actually right, because some collector may have failed to send his certificates, or they may have been lost in the mail, so that the actual collections may exceed the amounts in the reports.

The question then arises: Why publish the reports if they do not convey true information? We answer, that the law requires the several officers to report to the Secretary, and the reports are valuable for use and information. Each member of Congress can see by the Fifth Auditor's table how much money was collected in his district, how much salary was paid, what contingent expenses were allowed, &c., unless the collector has been delinquent in forwarding his accounts, and then that fact will appear. The Secretary can see the same things, and any other officer the same. As to the general public, it is not of the least consequence whether the amount reported is two or five millions less than the receipts: the fact that the money collected has got into the Treasury and is safe is alone of consequence to them, with the assurance that all that is possible has been done to guard the treasure when there.

It is admitted that one cannot understand the reports unless he understands Treasury business, and it is no discredit to Davis, Eaton, and Thurman that they do not understand that business, because they have not been in it. What is to their discredit is that, not knowing what they are talking about, they get up in the Senate and undertake to enlighten the people. It is a necessity of the position that the clerks in the department, those who do the business, should understand it. The checks on incompetency are as ample as they are on fraud. A fraudulent claim may get through by false swearing in sufficient amount, same as a guilty man may escape in a court of justice by bringing false witnesses to an *alibi*, but the fault is not in the system—it is a failing in any system. Nothing has been invented which is a com-

plete bar to forgery and false swearing. The Treasury system is the best thing yet discovered, and in proportion to the amount of business the losses are far less than in the banking and business corporations of the country. The system is decried as complicated and mysterious, while in fact it is simple and devoid of mystery. The Democratic members from the rural districts who are giving out word that they are about to simplify and amend the masterpiece of Alexander Hamilton, and improve upon Robert J. Walker, James Guthrie, and Salmon P. Chase, will go into the Treasury, pull off their coats, take a survey of the million tons of vouchers—and retire, as the Irishman did, after surveying the majestic proportions of Mr. William Patterson, whose acquaintance he was so anxious to make till he saw him—and that will be the end of it.

**INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS.**—On the intelligent and loyal press of the country the hopes of the nation depend. The people look to the press for correct information, and on this they base their judgment of governmental affairs. A bad paper conveys a moral poison wherever it circulates. If it is edited with commanding ability, its power for evil is greatly increased, and this is still further enlarged in proportion to its circulation. How vital, then, in view of this, becomes the necessity of supporting good papers. Every citizen who believes in public and private morality should extend liberal support to his home paper. His first duty should be to strengthen that. If he has patronage, it should go to the local organ before a dollar is sent to a paper at a distance. The principle of home protection should be applied to the local papers of the country.

The three political virtues taught in the school of Democracy are forgiveness, forgetfulness, and justification. In 1865 our lesson was the duty of forgiveness, in 1868 and 1872 it was forgetfulness, and now we are asked to follow the leader of the Confederate choir in the centennial song of justification. Loyal people generally decline to join in the chorus, or to throw up their hats over any agreement that compromises the results of the war.

## A STARTLING QUESTION:—IS THE SOUTH STILL FOR WAR?

Mr. B. H. Hill, a member of Congress from Georgia, delivered a speech, said to have been "the grandest" the gentleman ever uttered, and which was reported in the *Atlanta Constitution* of January 24, 1875. Mr. Hill said:

"Fellow citizens, I look to the contest of 1876 not only as the most important that ever occurred in American history, but as the most important in the history of the world; for if the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against this Republican party it will perpetuate itself in power in the United States by precisely the same means that the President has taken in Louisiana, and the people will be powerless to prevent it *except they go to war*. [Applause.] If we fail with the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. I trust we will not fail. I hope the Northern people have had a sufficient subsidence of passion to see this question fairly. If we must have war; if we cannot preserve this Constitution and constitutional government by the ballot; if force is to defeat the ballot; if the war must come—God forbid that it should come—but if it must come; if folly, if wickedness, if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come: I am ready."

It is useless to endeavor to conceal the fact that the delivery of such a speech must have been prompted by motives commensurate with the language employed and the influence of the speaker. It is useless to try to explain away the import of the words. The speech was delivered by Mr. Hill, who had been a Senator in the Confederate Congress and the mouthpiece of Jefferson Davis, whose infamous orders entailing suffering and death on Union soldiers he either justifies or makes light of. Mr. Hill spoke in a State which had joined in the rebellion in the hope of destroying the Union; a State which had annihilated as far as it could the colored vote and the vote of white Republicans; a State that had failed in its duty to provide fully for the education of its colored citizens and their children, and to afford them the protection of the law; and that had been violently wrenched from Republican

control by Democrats who had obtained their present status through the leniency of amnesty laws passed by a Republican Congress. To such Democrats Mr. Hill made his address. They were men opposed to the reconstruction of the South as provided for in the reconstruction measures. They had no sympathy with the cause that triumphed in the war; no sense of the obligations that rested upon them to accept the situation in good faith; and no intention of obeying those Federal laws which made no discrimination in citizenship between whites and blacks.

The immediate audience surrounding Mr. Hill when speaking were spell-bound by the manner in which he dealt with the subject. But he knew, and they knew, that he addressed through them the whole South; that his words were recorded with the intention of being circulated among the leading White Liners, that pestiferous class of fire-eaters, most of whom have received amnesty, but who keep the South in perpetual agitation by maintaining the old claims of the late slave States to subordinate the Federal Government and practically disfranchise the blacks. The whole speech is pervaded by a spirit of truculent disloyalty. Mr. Hill stands upon a very fierce platform—the blood and thunder platform so grateful to rebel ears—which calls upon the people to prepare for war if the Republican party is successful in 1876. Such an appeal was expected to meet with a ready response; and it did so. Mississippi responded in its late election, where the platform was War, and where treason was rampant and the murders of colored men followed as a natural consequence.

The loyal people of the Union have now an opportunity of knowing who and what it is that causes disquiet in the South. It is not Mr. Hill alone, though he is largely responsible; but it is the kind of speech which he and other speakers go about delivering that stirs up the worst passions of the people and leads to murder. This is no "bloody

shirt" fiction; no recommendation to shoot down the six blood-thirsty negroes that had armed themselves to overpower and exterminate the six hundred White Liners who were fleeing before them; no suggestion to keep the peace in localities where were negro majorities, by calling upon white men in the surrounding counties to assemble together and do indiscriminate slaughter. This is insignificance itself compared with what Mr. Hill had in view. He says:

"If the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against the Republican party it will perpetuate itself...and the people will be powerless to prevent it EXCEPT THEY GO TO WAR. IF WE FAIL WITH THE BALLOT BOX IN 1876...IF WE MUST HAVE WAR...IF THE WAR MUST COME...LET IT COME; I AM READY."

Let the people look at it. Divested of all extraneous matter, you have there the current sentiments of the Southern leaders. Soldiers! you who fought in the field to preserve the Union and its cause—is this what you expected as the result of all your sufferings and exposure when you faced death on

the battle-field and put down the rebellion? The contest at the ballot box in 1876 will undoubtedly be the most important that ever occurred in American history or the world. With the Confederate armies amnestied and breathing vengeance against the Republican party, what security is there, if disloyalty shall triumph, for the integrity of the Union; for the fulfillment of the pledges given by the nation: for the preservation of the national credit? The spirit of the Southern leaders to-day is a menace to liberty; a national danger; and can be met only by that spirit of patriotic resistance which will call every man to the polls to do his duty as a citizen, and cast a vote for the Republican party so overwhelming in its magnitude as will render the disloyal Democratic element in the country, North and South, utterly hopeless, and turn its insolent vauntings for blood against itself. The Republican party is national. It is the party out of which the Nation sprung. It is the party whose preservation has become a necessity for the preservation of the integrity of the Union.

## THOSE ENORMOUS EXPENSES.

Notwithstanding all the howling about the corruption of the Republican party, it is a demonstrable fact that the expenses, deducting those which appertain exclusively to the war, are less per head than they were under the Democratic administration of James Buchanan.

The following figures, in round numbers, for the year ended June 30, 1875, tell their own story:

Annual expenses for 1858.....	\$82,000,000
Annual expenses for 1859.....	84,000,000
Annual expenses for 1860.....	77,000,000

\$243,000,000

Per year..... 81,000,000

Expenses for 1875.....\$274,000,000

From which deduct interest on debt of Democratic war.....	\$103,000,000
Sinking fund appropriation.....	25,000,000
Pensions on account of war.....	20,000,000
Internal revenue expenses on account of war.....	7,000,000
Refunding war taxes.....	1,500,000
War damages paid.....	4,000,000

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Printing bonds and notes and negotiating.....	\$2,000,000
Extra clerk hire caused by war.....	500,000
Interest on Pacific Railway bonds.....	4,000,000
	<u>176,000,000</u>
Currency.....	\$98,000,000
Difference between currency and gold on \$98,000,000, average.....	12,000,000
Per year.....	<u>\$86,000,000</u>

Democratic Expenses.—Population in 1860, 31,000,000; expenses, \$81,000,000; equal to \$2.61 per head.  
Republican Expenses.—Population in 1875, 42,000,000; expenses, \$86,000,000; equal to \$2.05 per head.

This is allowing nothing on account of army expenses caused by mobs in the South, which grew out of the Democratic rebellion, nor anything for increase of army, caused solely by the rebellion, which amount to \$15,000,000. Let every Republican newspaper publish this exhibit, and keep it standing until the next election.

"ONE man in the right is a majority."

## WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

In this centennial year of our national existence the extraordinary spectacle is presented to the American people, in the Senate of the United States, by the submission to that august body of the following resolutions declaratory of the character of the Government under which they live. The views entertained and the positions taken by the distinguished Senators submitting these resolutions will, at a glance, be seen to be in extreme antagonism, calculated to astonish the enlightened world in this advanced period of our national history, as to the appalling uncertainty that seems to exist as to the character of our Government. In the Senate of the United States, December 15, 1875, Mr. Morton, of Indiana, submitted the following resolutions:

*"Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That the people of the United States constitute a nation, and are one people in the sense of national unity.*

*"Resolved, That the Government of the United States is not a compact between the States, in their municipal and corporate character, but was formed by the people of the United States in their primary capacity; that the rights of the States are defined and guaranteed by the Constitution, and not by outside theory of State sovereignty; and that the rights of the States cannot be enlarged or diminished except by an amendment to the Constitution.*

*"Resolved, That the rights of the States have the same sanction and security in the Constitution as the rights and powers of the National Government, and that local domestic government by the States, within the limits of the Constitution, is an essential part of our free republican system.*

*"Resolved, That the doctrine that a State has the right to secede from the Union is inconsistent with the idea of nationality, is in conflict with the spirit and structure of the Constitution, and should be regarded as having been forever extinguished by the suppression of the rebellion."*

In the Senate of the United States, January 8, 1876, Mr. Whyte, of Maryland, submitted the following resolution:

*"Resolved by the Senate (the House concurring,) That the people of the several States acting in their highest sovereign capacity as free and independent States, adopted the Federal Constitution, and established a form of government in the nature of a confederated republic; and for the purpose of car-*

*rying into effect the object for which it was formed, delegated to that government certain rights, enumerated in said Constitution, but reserved to the States respectively, or to the people thereof, all the residuary powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States."*

It is proposed now to review at some length the proceedings in the convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States, the proceedings in the State conventions, especially of Virginia and South Carolina, previous to its adoption, and of the speeches made and views entertained by the patriot fathers in those famous conventions; in order to see what light can be thrown over the very opposite positions taken in the above-cited resolutions, and to ascertain which doctrine is the true one according to the record made by the framers and adopters of the Constitution as it now stands—the organic law of the land.

Were it not that the resolutions of the prominent statesmen quoted above justify fully the attempt to make such a review for the purpose indicated, or in any way to moot the question of the character of the Government, the reviewer would scarcely have ventured on such ground without some apology for such temerity. Such an apology is however now unnecessary. But in 1872, and during the pendency of the political campaign in which the Republican and Democratic parties were contending for ascendancy, the writer of the present review wrote an address to the people of the South, advocating the re-election of General Grant, in which a brief essay on the character of the Government was published, and then the following apologetic remarks were made by way of preface for what he deemed at that time so bold a venture:

"In consideration of the fact that nearly a hundred years have elapsed since the establishment of our present General Government the above interrogatory (the same as at the head of this review) may seem to be, at first thought, a tacit confession of ignorance, and an inquiry of meaningless import. The character of this Government, it is true, should have been long since as familiar to every American citizen as the particular vocation with which he has wedded his exis-



tence. It has received interpretation and exposition from the most thorough scholars of governmental science, and delineation from statesmen and jurists more profound than those which have graced the annals of any other country or people. And yet in the midst of this refulgent light, lamentable as the fact may seem, ignorance of, or an unwillingness to abide by the form of government of the United States has cost the country, North and South, within the last eleven years, more than a half million of lives, and at a moderate estimate nearly ten thousand millions of property and treasure."

The following passages in that essay it is thought proper to quote in order to show the positions then taken upon the character of the Government under which we live, and also to show how fully those positions are in accord with the doctrine that will be advocated by the Senator from Indiana, and with the positions now taken in this review:

"The majority of the men who composed that convention (at Philadelphia) were fully alive to the importance of the occasion—had a full appreciation of the evils of the existing Government, and the necessary elements of one which ought to supplant it. We will not trace the action of the convention, space forbids, and its result stands to-day an exponent of the grandest organism of constitutional government that ever emanated from the mind of man. The prime evil of the Confederation, as will be remembered, was found in the fact that it dealt with the States and not with individuals; that it could recommend, but not enforce obedience from the people in their individual capacities, unless the States first assented. 'Seemingly to give a death-blow to this delusion in the outset the framers of the Constitution commenced it with the memorable words, "*We, the people,*" in order to form a more perfect union, &c., not we, the States. The same idea pervades the entire instrument, namely, that our present Federal charter is not a compact of the States, but a creation absolute, distinct, separate, and unqualified *ab initio* of the people. It lives independent of all other authority, an absolute, indissoluble entity in itself, and not a compact of corporations, whereby, by the withdrawal of any one or more of them the edifice may be either demolished in proportion, or entirely dissolved.

"These mighty advocates of liberty and supporters of constitutional law from which we have drawn so freely to support this discussion walked in no uncertain path. They affirmed that the General Government was meant to be, and was to all intents and purposes an entity of itself, dependent upon no

power save the will of the people, and not to State corporations, for its acts, clothed with authority to enact and power to enforce law, which authority, moreover, could neither be abridged nor withdrawn. In assuming this position they merely followed the plainest, simplest, most fundamental rule of legal interpretation and construction. They sought the *intent* of the framers of this instrument, the causes which led to the formation of the convention for its production, and on the result of this research they took their position. The *intent* of the framers was found in the words, "*We, the people.*" The causes which led to the formation of the convention were seen in the evils of the confederation hereinbefore explained, evils which sprung from a scheme of government entirely the opposite of our present Constitution, and which the National Convention at Philadelphia was called to dispel and destroy."

Throughout that essay upon Government the positions taken were in full accordance with those now taken by the honorable Senator from Indiana, and to support them reference was mainly had to great Southern authorities, avoiding Northern authorities nearly altogether, in view of the fact that the writer was addressing only the people of the South, and he deemed it proper to limit reference to that direction; because to their minds such reference to their direct patriotic fathers would have the most weight, and be the most conclusive upon the questions at issue.

In this review of the proceedings and acts of the Philadelphia convention, and of the State conventions during the time of framing and adopting the present Constitution of the United States, special attention will be given to the views and sentiments entertained by the great Southern statesmen on this momentous question—What is the Government of the United States?—in order to present in the most forcible manner for the serious consideration of the political leaders in the South who still advocate and strangely embrace "the political heresy" set forth in the resolution of the Senator from Maryland. Surely the views and opinions of these great patriots and statesmen, who rescued the people of this country from the feeble and inefficient government of the old Confederation, and who in their name, and acting as their delegates, framed

and adopted a constitution in the full capacity and power to protect their interests and welfare at home and abroad, should command and receive their full assent, and entire obedience to the Constitution as it was framed and designed by its great authors.

The convention at Philadelphia in 1787 adopted as a basis for, and preliminary to all after action the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That the articles of confederation ought to be so corrected and enlarged as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution, namely, common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare."*

All assented to the plain and self-evident proposition that the old Confederation was an utter failure for all purposes of good and stable government, and the work begun for the formation of a government of greater strength and stability under which the people might live in assured condition of peace, happiness, and prosperity.

Three prominent plans were brought forward, but of these but two were mainly taken into lengthened consideration and discussion, that of Mr. Hamilton, which provided for a Presidency during good behavior, being viewed as equivalent to a life tenure, was considered too extreme, and was soon laid aside. The two other plans, known as the Virginia and New Jersey plans, upon which it was proposed to frame a Constitution in the place of the old confederate league of States, which was sadly crumbling to pieces, were, after Mr. Hamilton's plan was thrown aside, alone under consideration and discussion.

The Virginia plan as brought forward by Mr. Edmund Randolph, one of the most distinguished and able of Southern statesmen, was, after long continued discussion by the very eminent statesmen then assembled in convention, adopted, and upon it was framed the present Constitution of the United States. That plan, showing its authors to have been profoundly impressed in the sad lesson of the past, and the necessity of securing to the people a government strong and stable enough to guarantee their happiness and welfare, is as follows, as contained in three propositions:

1. "That a Union of the States merely Fed-

eral will not accomplish the objects proposed by the articles of confederation, namely, common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare.

2. "That no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the States, as individual sovereignties, would be sufficient.

3. "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a *supreme* legislative, executive, and judiciary." (See Madison Papers, Vol. 5, of Elliott's Debates.)

It is not deemed necessary to cite at length the New Jersey plan submitted to the convention by Mr. Patterson, as it will suffice to note the difference between it and the Virginia plan as described by Mr. Wilson in convention, June 16, 1787, on the points suggestive by the subject-matter of this review, which are as follows:

"Virginia plan proposes two branches of the legislative body.

"New Jersey plan proposes a single legislative body.

"Virginia plan—the legislative powers *to be derived from the people.*

"New Jersey plan—the same powers *to be derived from the States.*

"Virginia plan—the legislature can legislate on all national concerns.

"New Jersey plan—can only legislate on limited objects.

"Virginia plan—the national legislature to remove the executive by impeachment.

"New Jersey plan—removal of executive on application of a majority of the States." (See Yates' Minutes of Secret Debates and Proceedings.)

Hence it will be seen that the Virginia plan was decidedly national, and for a strong, energetic government, and that the New Jersey plan was based on the State rights theory of government.

In convention, 29th of June, 1787, Mr. Madison remarked as follows:

"Some gentlemen are afraid that the plan (Virginia plan) is not sufficiently national; while others that it is too much so. If this point of representation was once well fixed we would come nearer to one another in sentiment. The necessity would then be discovered of circumscribing more effectually the State governments, and enlarging the bounds of the general government. Some contend that States are sovereign, *when in fact they are only political societies.* There is a gradation of power in all societies, from the lowest corporations to the highest sovereign. *The States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty.* These were always vested in Congress. *Their voting as States in Congress*

is no evidence of sovereignty. The State of Maryland voted by counties; did this make the counties sovereign? The States at present are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. *The States ought to be placed under the control of the general government—at least as much so as they were formerly under the King and British Parliament.*" (See Madison Papers.)

Among others of those great men in the convention at Philadelphia who participated in the discussion upon the merits of the Virginia and New Jersey plans for a constitution was Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the peer of any or all of the eminent personages who sat there, who explained the distinction between a *federal* and a *national* supreme government, the former being, as he said, a mere compact resting on the good faith of the parties, the latter having a *compulsive* operation. He contended that in all communities there must be one supreme power, and one only.

Mr. Mason, (of Virginia,) observed, not only that the present confederation was deficient in *not providing for coercion and punishment* against delinquent States, but argued very cogently that punishment could not, in the nature of things, be executed on the States collectively, and, therefore, that such a government was necessary as *could directly operate on individuals*, and would punish those only whose guilt required it. (See Madison Papers.)

It was moved in committee of the whole by Mr. Read, and seconded by Mr. Pinckney, to postpone the third resolution (in Virginia plan) as offered by Mr. Randolph, viz: "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary, in order to take up the following, viz: *Resolved*, That in order to carry into execution the *design of the States* in forming this convention, and to accomplish the objects proposed by the Confederation, a more effectual government, consisting of a legislative, executive, and judiciary, ought to be established."

The motion to postpone Mr. Randolph's third resolution for this purpose was lost.

On the question then as moved by Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, on said third res-

olution it was resolved in committee of the whole, "that a *national* government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary," the vote being as follows:

Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina—ayes 6. Connecticut—no 1. (New York divided, Colonel Hamilton voting aye, and Mr. Yates no)

(See Madison Papers.)

Mr. Dickerson, in convention, happily compared the proposed national system to the great planetary system, in which the States were the planets, and the general government the sun around which they revolved in the spheres, and in the manner presented by the great Creator—their creator being the sovereign people of the United States.

Mr. Madison said: "In a word, to recur to the illustrations borrowed from the planetary system, the prerogative of the general government (its control over the States) is the great pervading principle that must control the centrifugal tendency of the States, which without it will continually fly out of their proper orbits, and destroy the order and harmony of the political system."

How fearfully this apprehension or prophecy has been realized and fulfilled, it will be but necessary to refer to the mad action of the Southern States in 1861 in flying out of their proper orbits, and seceding from the common Union.

Mr. Madison (at page 264 Madison Papers) said: "Whenever there is danger of attack there ought to be given a constitutional power of defense. But he contended that the States were divided into different interests, not by the difference in size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves. It lay between the Northern and Southern, and if any defensive powers were necessary, it ought to be given to these two interests."

Mr. Madison, in reply to certain State rights members remarked: "That he was of opinion, in the first place, that there was less danger of encroachment from the General Government than from the State govern-

ments; and in the second place, that the mischief from encroachments would be less fatal if made by the former than if made by the latter." "All the examples, (he continued) of other confederacies prove the greater tendency, in such systems, to anarchy than to tyranny; to a disobedience of the members, than usurpations of the federal head. Our own experience had fully illustrated this tendency." Alas! if Mr. Madison had lived to witness the suicidal acts of the Southern States in their late rebellion he would have dwelt with far greater force on what our experience had illustrated as to the tendency of the members to disobedience, ending with the inauguration of a long and bloody war upon the federal head.

The constitution for the United States of America having been framed on the plan submitted by Mr. Edmund Randolph, or, as it was more commonly called and known, the Virginia plan, in which it will be borne in mind that the third resolution thereof declared "that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary," it was referred, in due and solemn form, to the conventions of the several States for ratification by the people, through their delegates chosen to represent them in convention.

Its character was well and fully understood by every State convention, as the subsequent discussion in every convention fully shows. There was no mistake whatever upon this head. It was as fully and openly demonstrated to their view as the sun at noonday that the government to be established under the Constitution was to be a national government, consisting of "a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon the subject of ratification of the Constitution by the Legislatures of the States or by conventions of the people Mr. Madison remarked:

"He considered it best to require conventions; among other reasons for this, that the powers given to the General Government, being taken from the State governments, the legislatures would be more disinclined than conventions composed, in part at least, of other men; and if disinclined they could devise modes apparently promoting, but really thwarting the ratification. The difficulty in Maryland was no greater than in other States

where no mode of change was pointed out, and all officers were under oath to support it. *The people were, in fact, the fountain of all power, and by resorting to them all difficulties were got over. They could alter constitutions as they pleased.*"

It is a matter of curious interest at this day to look back to the proceedings in the great Philadelphia convention, and observe the extraordinary fact (among other remarkable incidents showing sectional views) that the objections and opposition to a national government, such as was proposed to be formed on the Virginia plan, arose, mainly, from the delegates to the convention representing Northern and Eastern States; and that Southern members, particularly from Virginia and South Carolina, warmly and steadfastly espoused and advocated the national feature, and were thorough for a national government. In the South Carolina convention General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, than whom there was not a statesman in all the South, even among the greatest of those eminently distinguished characters, who figured in the exciting movements of that day, a superior, and who was a delegate from that State, in the Philadelphia convention made, on the 18th day of January, 1788, the following remarkable speech:

"This admirable manifesto, (referring to the Declaration of Independence,) which for importance of matter and elegance of composition stands unrivaled, sufficiently confutes the honorable gentleman's (Pierce Butler) doctrine of the individual sovereignty and independence of the several States."

"In that Declaration (he further remarked) the several States are not even enumerated, but after reciting in nervous language, and with convincing arguments, our right to independence, and the tyranny which compelled us to assert it, the declaration is made in the following words: 'We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.' " And further he says: "The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed the Declaration; the several States are not even mentioned by name

in any part of it, as if it was intended to impress the maxim on America that our freedom and independence arose from our union, and that without it we could neither be free nor independent. Let us, then, consider all attempts to weaken this union by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent, as a *species of political heresy which may bring on us the most serious distresses.*"

Had General Pinckney lived to the day of secession of the Southern States he would have had his worst fears and apprehensions more than realized.

In close and immediate accord with the views entertained by the patriotic Pinckney upon the subject of State sovereignty, it will be interesting to read the following passage, quoted from that eminently learned jurist, Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution. Commenting on the authority by which the Constitution was made, he states:

"It was not an act done by the State governments then organized, nor by persons chosen by them. It was emphatically the act of the *whole people* of the United Colonies, by the instrumentality of their representatives, chosen for that, among other purposes. It was not an act competent to the State governments, or any of them as organized under their charter, to adopt. Those charters neither contemplated the case, nor provided for it. It was an act of original inherent sovereignty by the people themselves, resulting from their right to change the form of government, and to institute a new government whenever necessary for their safety and happiness. So the Declaration of Independence treats it. No State had presumed of itself, to form a new government, or to provide for the exigencies of the times, without consulting Congress on the subject; and when they acted it was in pursuance of the recommendation of Congress. It was, therefore, the achievement of the whole for the benefit of the whole. *The people of the United Colonies made the United Colonies free and independent States, and absolved them from the allegiance to the British Crown.* The Declaration of Independence has accordingly always been treated as an act of paramount and sovereign authority, complete and perfect *per se*, and *ipso facto* working an entire dissolution of all political connection with, and allegiance to Great Britain; and this not merely as a practical fact, but in a legal and

constitutional view of the matter by courts of justice."

Thus looking back upon the evidence and authorities of the highest and most undoubted character, piled up so extensively in the foregoing review of the past political history of our country from the very foundation of governmental institutions, the writer may without the least apprehension of reasonable objection, or refutation of arguments and testimonies brought forward in support of the positions taken therein, conclude that the resolutions submitted in the Senate by the able and distinguished Senator from Indiana, the Honorable O. P. Morton, are based on, and are fully supported by the political and historical record of this country; and that we live under a stable, energetic National Government, as contra-distinguished from a loose structure of confederated States, built on "the political heresy" of State rights, and that if the latter system should unfortunately ever be carried into practical operation in the future it will surely bring on us, to use the prophetic language of General Pinckney, "the most serious distresses," and greater even than those the country has but lately suffered from the madness of the rebellious States of the South.

Upon these remarkable resolutions, as submitted to the Senate by the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Maryland, so entirely opposite as they are in the views presented therein with regard to the character of our Government, doubtless extensive discussions will arise in both houses of Congress; and these discussions will be of the greatest interest and consequence to the people of the United States, as they will necessarily present for their consideration and decision the views and opinions of the two great parties, the National Republican party and the States' Rights Democratic party, soon to be engaged in the great contest for the control of public affairs for the ensuing four years, and which will offer to the sovereign people of this country the grand opportunity of making known unmistakably their views and determinations as to the character of the Government under which they desire to live, and to hand down to their posterity.

## NOTES ON EUROPEAN TRAVEL.

[One of our contributors who has recently visited some portions of the Old World made brief notes of his observations, which he has written out for THE REPUBLIC.]

Crossing the Atlantic with the safety and comfort now afforded by several lines of steamships may well be regarded as among the greatest achievements of human skill and enterprise. Among the reflections that come first to an American traveller is the humiliating fact that the flag of the United States is scarcely seen on the ocean. It is under a foreign flag that he embarks, and risks the hazards of the voyage. It is no relief to remember, or to be told, that twenty-five years ago the finest steamers that crossed the Atlantic were American, and that the parsimony or lack of statesmanship in our Congress caused their withdrawal from that service. Liverpool is the port that greets the weary passenger after some ten days of ship life. This grand city has expended in improvements £300,000,000, or a sum which reduced (or rather inflated) to United States currency, nearly equals our national debt.

London, the capital city of Great Britain, can boast of even greater expenditures, not from its own coffers, but, by the British Parliament, from the revenues of the Kingdom. Quite recently in this way a splendid embankment to the Thames has been built at a cost of thirty millions of dollars. Will not Congress build the much needed embankment to the Potomac, which may be done at an expense of less than six millions of dollars? Parliament appropriates annually some \$300,000 for the care of the parks of London. No nation can afford to neglect its capital. The glory of London is in its parks and gardens. The latter are cultivated to the highest degree of art. Something is due to the climate of England, but in America we seem to make no approach to the magnificent and exquisite display of flowers to be seen in London. The parks, on the other hand, are left more in their natural state than the great parks of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago are. The question suggests itself whether too much present expense is not incurred in the *embellishment* of

our parks—whether more of it might not be left to posterity, and whether the money expended for ornamentation now might not be used for enlargement or additional parks. Let the present generation secure the amplest grounds in all our cities for parks, and dedicate them to the free use of the people. This seems to have been the policy in European cities.

The Houses of Parliament in London scarcely equal the Capitol in Washington, either in grandeur and beauty or in adaptation to the uses of legislative bodies. Visiting the Queen's stables (or *Mews*, as stables are called in London,) one is surprised at the great number of fine horses of every variety of use. Inquiring if the horses of the Prince of Wales are included in the number, we are answered in the negative, and told that the Queen's horses alone count two hundred and thirty, while the Prince has only ninety. Carriages in proportion are shown—some of marvelous cost and glitter. The Queen has declined to use the most gorgeous ones since the death of her husband, and rides in those of more modest pretensions—remarkable, however, for their plain solid expensive qualities.

The London post office is known everywhere for its illimitable capacity and for its exactitude of details, as well. The post office in Great Britain combines the telegraph service with its ordinary mail business. In England, and in Europe generally, you send your *telegrams* with a feeling of security and at half the cost charged by the great monopoly in the United States. Post offices in Great Britain are also savings banks, where the humble depositor can leave his money sure of its safety, and receive a moderate rate of interest. The people seem to second all the efforts of the Government to make the post office the greatest of public blessings. For instance, a door to a house, store, or office would as soon be found without a knob or a lock as without an aperture into which the almost hourly postman may drop a letter.

The Bank of England, or "The Bank," as it is called by London people, is an immense institution, interesting and familiar to the



civilized world. In going through it you are reminded more of the United States Treasury than of a large New York bank. The bills of the Bank are printed, numbered, and trimmed in the building, but the machinery for doing all this work seems quite inferior to that used in Washington. The Bank is not a Government institution, but a private corporation. It does the financial business of the Government, however, and thus has a *quasi* Government character. It originated in the necessities of the Government, and was first opened for business on New Year's day in 1695. In its vicinity are many other banks of great variety and of immense capital.

The policemen of London seem to be omnipresent, active, and vigilant. A stranger in the city has occasion to ask of them innumerable questions, some no doubt apparently quite silly, but he will uniformly get a polite and intelligent answer.

Newgate prison was shown to us, through-out, on a permit from the Lord Mayor. This prison is probably as well known as any feature of London. Newgate and Old Bailey are familiar to all story readers. When seen they present a very quiet appearance as if they were never known in history and drama. The prison is a model of order and cleanliness. It was the remark of American visitors that they had never been in a prison before in which not the slightest taint or smell in the air could be discovered.

"Bunhill fields" is the name of an old burying ground in London, which is interesting as containing the graves of John Bunyan, Isaac Watts, and Daniel Defoe. Appropriate monuments mark their resting places. Opposite to this grave-yard stands the church in which John Wesley preached, and in its yard lie buried John Wesley and Adam Clarke, the founders of Methodism. Marble monuments perpetuate their memories, and the old church bears the name of Wesley. Some distance from the graves of Wesley and Bunyan, in another inclosure, is a simple headstone, scarce two feet high, almost overgrown with grass, on which you may decipher the name of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. It is not in accordance with the Quaker faith to erect memorials of the dead.

Nevertheless we could wish that one whose influence on the world was only second to Wesley's might have an equally honored grave.

There are three, at least, notable clergymen in London—Dean Stanley, James Martineau, and Spurgeon. The first we heard in Westminster Abbey, of which he is in charge. Receiving his appointment directly from the Queen he is independent of the Bishop or Archbishop. His well known liberality of sentiment does not, it seems, detract from the high esteem, or separate him from the intimate society, of her Majesty. James Martineau is remarkable alike for his piety and learning. In personal appearance and as an eloquent speaker he is the superior of Dean Stanley. In theology they do not greatly differ. Both are eminent pillars of the "Broad Church." Spurgeon, except for his notoriety and for the immense audience he attracts, does not deserve to be associated with Dean Stanley and Doctor Martineau. But he is one of the objects of interest to travelers, as Beecher is in this country. Intellectually Spurgeon is greatly the inferior of Beecher, and by no means his equal as an orator.

The Zoological Garden in London is not more attractive in its rare and large collection of animals than by its extent and beauty as a garden of plants and flowers. Hours may be spent here in pleasant recreation without looking at the animals. Long walks amid groves of trees, or by the side of small lakes, with the choicest refreshments at hand, accompanied often by excellent music, make the place delightful, aside from the enjoyment and instruction afforded by the great variety and wonderful specimens of zoology. In one of the lakes mentioned we saw two monster elephants bathing playfully like two Newfoundland dogs, often hid from sight under water, excepting perhaps their mysterious projecting trunks. Many of the animals on exhibition were derived from America by purchase, gift, or exchange.

A great many jokes are perpetrated at the expense of London weather. During our stay there the atmosphere was as clear and bright as it is usually in America. But most the year the sun, it is alleged, is hid by

clouds and fog. When Horace Greeley first visited London he wrote home to his friends who might purpose following him: "Take a good long look at the sun before you leave home." The Shah of Persia probably had a similar experience when he was in London. An Englishman said to him at dinner, "I am told some of your people in Persia worship the sun; is it true?" "Yes," he replied, "and you would too, in England, if you could see it."

Paris is a show city, and as such, it makes it pay. Millions of dollars are every year left in that beautiful city only because it is "a show city." Our own Washington has the possibilities of becoming such a city. But we must enlarge our conceptions of our destiny as a nation before we shall have a capital worthy of it. The tomb of Napoleon, in Paris, cost more than all the monuments and statues America has raised to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton during the last century. Are Republics ungrateful?

The streets of Paris, so wide, so well graded and paved, (largely with asphalt,) and so clean, are monuments to the great engineer, Haussman, who under Louis Napoleon was the original "Boss Shepherd." Paris and Washington are renovated cities, examples of good taste and fearless enterprise.

A review by President McMahon of 30,000 French troops on Sunday in the *Bois de Boulogne* seemed a painful exhibition of their inferiority to either the British, German, or Italian soldiers. The diminutive size of the French is at once apparent, whether seen on parade or off duty in the street. Yet the chief glory of France has been military. Will not the brilliant intellects of the great empire hereafter be more devoted to science, literature, and art than to war, and its muscle find employment in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce rather than in human butchery?

Traveling by private carriage or by diligence in other parts of France, away from its large towns and cities, the perfection of the common roads and the splendid bridges across the most ordinary streams will arrest the attention of every American observer.

Neither American art or American litera-

ture has yet found much favor in Europe. In one of the galleries of modern works of art in Paris, with over 6,000 pieces on the catalogue, there were but two American pictures, one "The Surrender of Cornwallis," in which La Fayette is a prominent figure, the other a portrait of Caleb Cushing! In Kensington Museum, London, there are quite a number of Benjamin West's works, including his own portrait.

But, as a rule, among the myriads of pictures seen all over Europe, there are none by American artists, and but few of American subjects. The latter are generally landscapes—no battle pieces or portraits. On the bookshelves of Great Britain almost the only American author who finds a place is Longfellow. Mark Twain's humorous works have some circulation; but in the best English book stores only "Longfellow's Poems" represent the United States.

You enter Italy by the Mont Cenis tunnel, a work that proves the Italians first among civilized nations in works of internal improvement. When the tunnel was proposed the French government was invited to participate in its cost as it would in its benefits when completed. The imperial power hesitated, and betrayed a lack of faith in the feasibility of the project, venturing only to offer a contribution of 30 millions of francs to be paid on the completion of the work. It is needless to say that France had to pay the money. But the credit of the enterprise belongs to Italy. Now another and greater tunnel is being built at the St. Gothard Pass. This will bring to Italy the travel and trade of Germany, &c., as Mont Cenis does France, &c. The latter is nearly 8 miles long; the St. Gothard will be three miles longer.\*

The Italian army appears to be not inferior to any in Europe. The officers are gentlemen—men of education, and from the best families in Italy. The rank and file are well formed, taller than the French, but not so large as the English. The Italian soldier is remarkable for his alertness—he generally marches on the "double quick." The officers and men are well uniformed, their clothes are of good quality, and well fitting;

\* The Hoosac tunnel is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  miles long.

another contrast to the French. It is also noticeable that the officers and employees of the railroads in Italy are a fine class of men, polite and intelligent. Of course the railroads are well conducted, regard being had to safety, comfort, and speed. Americans look with envy upon the spacious and well provided stations (or depots) on the roads, especially upon the excellent restaurants found in all the stations.

The railroad from Bologna to Florence is something marvelous in the way of engineering—18 tunnels occur in twice as many miles. In other places the steepest grades are surmounted by powerful locomotives. The character of the road requires a large number of employees of more than ordinary skill and prudence. Italy believes in the railroad as an educator. Superstition withers before it. We met here an agent of Pullman's palace and sleeping cars, who had just concluded a contract with the authorities to place on the roads those famous American cars. We may expect soon to see them all over Italy. We predict that the first ones will be named Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, &c. The "first class" cars now in use in Italy are quite splendid and comfortable. The Pullman, however, are expected to eclipse them.

Free schools abound in Italy, while monasteries are being suppressed. It is a notable fact that the Church of Rome has fewer privileges under the law in Italy than in the United States!

The interesting city of Florence is becoming a modern town under the rule of a progressive and enterprising Mayor. The new and magnificent boulevards, avenues, and streets springing into existence in various portions of the city, we are told, are his offspring. He seems to be of himself a "Board of Public Works." You cannot help feeling that it was a mistake to remove the seat of government from Florence to Rome. It is pleasant to find the United States well represented in this important city by a consul so well fitted to his office as Mr. J. Lorimer Graham.

Venice, the city of the sea, next to Rome, is the most remarkable of all the cities of Italy. But we are not writing a "guide

book," and so will not dwell on descriptions. During our brief stay in Venice we witnessed a grand ovation and serenade to the officers of the British fleet then in the port. It was indeed magnificent. The evidence it presented of a friendly feeling existing between the two diverse peoples, and the not less evident desire to cultivate pleasant relations in the future on both sides, are hopeful signs of a cordial union between two progressive free nations. The day when such union may be important is perhaps not distant. The secondary political position now occupied by the Pope must be as irksome to him as it is humiliating. Those nations which still maintain allegiance to the Pope are no less uneasy and dissatisfied than the Pope himself.

Milan, so widely celebrated for its grand Cathedral, is a lively city, wearing somewhat of an American aspect. Improvement was everywhere going forward in the town and a more business air pervaded its numerous stores than we had seen in Italy. Monks and priests seemed out of place here. Coming from Venice to Milan we passed through Verona, stopping there a few hours. The balcony from which Juliet saluted Romeo, and also her tomb, are pointed out to visitors. Ruins of the early centuries are to be seen in Verona, and its whole appearance is ancient. Milan seemed quite modern in contrast.

Lakes Como and Maggiore, too beautiful for description, are about thirty miles from Milan. The traveler who misses them is to be pitied. The lovely aristocratic villas dotting the shores of the lakes greatly enhance their natural charms.

Embarking at midnight in a *diligence* from Biasca, we proceed to cross the Alps by what is called "St. Gothard Pass." This is an adventure second only to crossing the Atlantic ocean. By terraces built at immense cost you rise up the mountain, nearly perpendicular, to a giddy height of 5,000 feet, descending, on the Swiss side a much more gradual declivity. The road on both sides of the mountain is all the way macadamized and in perfect order. The embankments and the coping on the borders of the road are of solid mason work and granite, not without architectural grace and style. The *diligences*

are the most substantial of vehicles, drawn up the steepest ascents by seven horses, whose intelligence and sagacity are the traveler's surest hopes of safety. The drivers are Jehus.

Entering Switzerland by Lake Lucerne, passing on the way through the scenes of William Tell's exploits, the American for the first time since he left home finds himself in a republic. He is unfavorably impressed, politically, by the number of soldiers he everywhere meets—a number quite disproportionate to the size of the country. The large hotels in Switzerland are kept by Germans. To what extent other kinds of business are absorbed by Germans we cannot say. The scenery of Switzerland, its lakes and mountains, can only fitly be described in poetry.\* In our own country we have all the glorious scenery, perhaps, of Switzerland, but it is separated by vast distances—from the White Mountains to the Yosemite Valley, from Niagara Falls and Lake George to the Mammoth Cave, while in Switzerland it is all in small compass. The myriads of people who resort here every year have given it the name of the "Play-ground of Christendom." Berne, its capital, is a quaint old city, but not devoid of beauty. Its public buildings are scarcely noticeable. To illustrate its name (Berne) it gives great attention to bears. A den of these animals has been for many years supported by the city as one of its institutions, and when the town clock strikes a procession of automaton bears passes out of the church tower. These exhibitions amuse the young people and even "children of a larger growth." Among the novel habits of the people of Switzerland we observed that their bank hours were 8 to 12 A. M. and 2 to 5 P. M. Similar hours are fixed for all government offices. Sand is universally used in writing instead of blotting-paper. The railway cars of Switzerland resemble ours in that the entrance and exit are at the end and not at the side, as elsewhere in Europe. Only in the Swiss cars can the European railway conductor pass through his train inside the cars.

Geneva is the most important as it is the

handsomest town in Switzerland. It boasts of few "sights," but its natural beauties are scarcely equaled the world over.

Here Pere Hyacinthe attempted to raise a church, but it is equally impossible to sustain a "third party" in religion as it is in politics. Bonaparte said government must be Cossack or Republican—so in religion as the good Pere has found. Here Calvin three hundred years ago burnt Servetus because he was a Unitarian. The English mobbed Dr. Priestley two hundred years later, and he fled to America, on account of his religious sentiments, similar to those taught by Servetus. Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and others became disciples of like faith. If General Washington had been a John Calvin he would have hanged Dr. Priestley before he disseminated his heresy.

The trade of Geneva, as all know, is chiefly in watches and jewelry. The American traveler salutes his country's flag flying above one of the largest buildings in Geneva. He learns that this immense building is the watch factory of Tiffany & Co., of New York. This firm is not only patriotic and enterprising, but humane and kind. The failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co. threw many tourists into financial distress. Their supply of money for daily expenses was suddenly shut off. In their dilemma they found in Tiffany & Co. friends indeed. Fortunately, a resumption took place in a few days on the part of Duncan, Sherman & Co., so far as "letters of credit" were concerned, relieving many an anxious traveler. Our consul at Geneva is Mr. C. H. Upton, formerly of Upton's Hill, Virginia. Being a loyal citizen, President Lincoln gave him the consulate at Geneva in 1863. Although an old man, he still fills the post as creditably as the meager salary will allow.

Geneva from being the fountain of Calvinism seems now to be the most *irreligious* city in Europe—we do not mean immoral—but a general neglect of the Sabbath and the forms of religion is noticeable, illustrating the swinging of the pendulum from one extreme to the other. The clergy in Geneva of the present day are largely Rationalistic, we were told by a Calvinist. The influence of Calvin on Geneva is more apparent in the city's

\*See Byron's *Childe Harold*, etc.

lack of ornament. His stern teachings discouraged art, so we find in Geneva no monuments or displays of architecture, no picture galleries, and but few statues.

Mont Blanc, although fifty miles distant, belongs to the scenery of Geneva. A day's ride by *diligence* takes you to the foot of the King of Mountains, whose wondrous beauty and sublimity baffle all attempts at description. No European traveler can afford to miss Mont Blanc.

Basle is one of the most important towns in Switzerland. Its business is extensive. Its churches form a part of the history of the Reformation. Nevertheless it is a place of few attractions. Its "Munster" repays the traveler's attention, and the *Hotel Trois Roi* is a good resting place.

The falls of the Rhine, near by, seem tame to those who have seen Niagara or Trenton. From Basle, Basel, or Bale, to Baden-Baden, takes you into Germany. Baden-Baden is the Saratoga of Europe. The gambling which once made this delightful place so notorious has been wholly suppressed, and now it is simply a "watering place." As a summer resort it seems unrivaled. The hotels are solid structures of brick and stone, and are not expected to burn down every five years like our Saratoga hotels.

Probably a conflagration never occurred in Baden-Baden such as are so common at all American watering places. There are two interesting castles here, the "old" and the "new;" the latter was built in the fifteenth century, and is occupied at present by one of the royal family. Already you have seen enough German soldiers to be impressed by their manifest superiority to all other soldiers. This impression, it is true, is produced mainly by the officers whom you meet on the cars and at the hotels. Their athletic forms and gallant bearing are enhanced in appearance by the fine clothes with which they are uniformed.

Gambling having been abolished at Baden-Baden, music has become the predominant element in the life of the place. Out-door concerts of the highest order supplement the pleasant walks and drives which this charming place so abundantly affords.

Frankfort is the first city in Germany on

the way from Switzerland to the Rhine. This ancient and wealthy town is the birthplace of the Rothschilds, and the old house in which they first lived, and where they laid the foundations of their colossal wealth, still stands in the Hebrew part of the city.

Modern Frankfort has two delightful resorts for recreation and amusement—the Palm Garden and the Zoological Garden. Both places are enlivened by fine music, such as only Germans can produce. Here people of all ages and condition gather every evening or afternoon to listen to the exquisite music while partaking of refreshments.

Frankfort furnished the money to pay for the recent improvements of Washington. Some of her wealthiest bankers are Americans.

The Rhine, like the Alps, belongs to the realm of poetry. In its description both the poet and the artist have illustrated their genius. A pleasant steamboat (European steamboats are not always pleasant) at Biebrich takes the passengers who come from Frankfort at nine o'clock in the morning, arriving at Cologne before sunset. A day's acquaintance with this river of marvelous beauty and interest is all too brief. In America we have the Hudson and the northern Mississippi, scarcely less beautiful in their natural scenery, but they lack the ruins of ancient castles which attract the eye at every point on the Rhine—interesting of themselves and, still more, in their history. Legends and fairy tales, delightful to young and old, attach to almost every mile of this famous river. Nevertheless, we should be slow to admit that the Hudson is inferior to the Rhine.

Some hours of daylight remain after our arrival in Cologne. Its churches claim the earliest attention. The Cathedral, in size, ranks next to St. Peter's. It is somewhat larger than the Milan, being 511 feet long, 231 feet wide, and will be 520 feet high when the towers are completed. "The Church of Ursula" has a marvelous interest—here are exposed to the visitor the bones of the 11,000 virgins slain on the spot now occupied by the church, in the ninth century. These relics have been religiously preserved, and form a part of the decorations of the church—many of the

skulls have been embroidered with needle work by nuns. We not only saw these bones but handled them. The church also contains an immense and well executed picture of the massacre of the virgins. Rubens once lived in Cologne, and another church has one of his paintings on its walls. His house is still standing; in it died Maria de Medicis, whose heart is preserved in the Cathedral, which is remarkably rich in shrines and relics.

Cologne, the least interesting city we have seen, (aside of course from its grand Cathedral) has evidently no "Board of Public Works." Its streets and its sewers bear witness to this. The Cathedral, however, is sufficient to make the visitor forget the disagreeable features of the city.

Here is "a bridge of boats" across the Rhine nearly half a mile long. The boats are moored side by side, and a floor-way laid across them. Over this bridge there is an immense traffic both of carriages and pedestrians. It is also "a draw bridge," often called into play as such by the various craft plying the river. The "draw" is opened by five or six of the boats moving out of their places to the right and left, and closed as easily by the boats returning again to their moorings. From Cologne to Paris we pass through the thriving, busy little kingdom of Belgium. Immense chimneys pierce the sky all over its territory. Manufacturing of every species seems to be the occupation of the people.

Brussels, the capital of Belgium, is perhaps the *belle* city of the world. The residence of the Court, its buildings are all of an aristocratic order. Its streets are spacious and entirely clean, and its parks, beautiful and grand, challenge those of any other city. Indeed, among cities Brussels has no peer unless it be Paris, of which Brussels is sometimes said to be the *miniature*. Its beauty is not confined to the portions occupied by royalty and its court, but even in its suburbs it sustains all that has been claimed for it. The *Bois*, with its walks and drives of many miles, astonish and bewilder with their loveliness and extent. We were not surprised to find that our late Minister to Belgium, Mr. H. J. Sanford, still resides in Brussels a private citizen. Only a man of ample for-

tune, it is said, can afford to be Minister to Belgium. General Badeau, recently appointed to that position, has felt obliged to decline it.

Antwerp is remarkable for its fine churches, or rather for the rare pictures in the churches. Probably no other city, except Rome, contains such art treasures. Judging from the splendor of the churches—their bright, fresh appearance—we should say that Catholicism is flourishing in Antwerp, and not the decaying institution it seems in Italy and France. As a commercial city Antwerp is evidently prosperous and growing in importance. It was pleasant to see the American flag flying from so many masts in the harbor.

We entered Holland, or the Netherlands, at Rotterdam. Here quite a different order of civilization seems to prevail. The streets, the houses, the people all present a singular and unique appearance. But you soon come to like them all. Rotterdam, however, is much less interesting and agreeable than either The Hague or Amsterdam.

The Hague for quiet beauty rivals any city on the continent. Like Brussels it is a Court city still more exclusively. There are no manufactories, no trade and commerce to disturb the quiet of the place—its streets and squares are paragons of cleanliness—the dwellings out-do the rich quaker houses of Philadelphia, and the servants at the doors are pictures of neatness. Most of the small carts for distributing provisions of all kinds, at the houses, are drawn by dogs, women, or men, and partake of the same general character of neatness, order, and quiet that pervades the city. We wish we could speak with more emphasis of the magnificent park or *bois* which forms such a delightful part of The Hague. The music that is afforded almost every afternoon or evening in it is if possible more exquisite than that which makes the parks of Frankfort so famous.

An international Congress for the furtherance of the principle of arbitration in place of war was in session at The Hague during our visit, (August, 1875.) At a reception, given by the Queen in honor of the delegates, occasion was afforded to admire that accomplished and graceful sovereign. Able to speak nearly every language with entire



fluency she charmed her guests with her affability and grace. The first question she asked Judge Peabody, of the American delegation, was "Have they found Charley Ross?" The ancient buildings used by the two houses of Parliament are full of interesting associations, but architecturally do not add much to the beauty of the city. A museum of rare old paintings and a magnificent club house and some private galleries of art, easily accessible, are among the pleasant resorts of the traveler.

Amsterdam, the chief city of Holland, at once captivates the hearts of Americans especially. Its principal streets are two or three miles long and from two hundred to three hundred feet wide. In the center of the street generally runs a canal somewhat after the manner of Venice. This canal is not allowed to detract from the universal neatness and tidiness of the city. In Amsterdam, evidently, "cleanliness is next to godliness." The wealth, enterprise, and taste of its old merchants find a monument in the "town hall" built by them, in 1650. It cost what would now be equal to ten millions of dollars. Here again we find a large zoological garden, probably the finest in Europe. The beautiful park that adorns the city is private property. From Amsterdam we return to the less interesting city of Rotterdam, thence to Harwich by steamboat and to London by rail.

The people of Europe, men and women, old and young, we may here remark, drink wine or other stimulants habitually. An Englishman who lives one half the time in the United States told us that when he was in Boston or New York he had no relish for stimulants—rather repelled them. But when he was in Washington or Richmond his English appetite returned. So that "drinking" is in some degree a matter of climate. The people of Maine and Massachusetts may well be teetotalers and prohibitionists.

Tramways (as street railways are called) have been adopted in most of the cities of Europe to a moderate extent. London, at least, could lay down many more miles to great advantage, but there is yet some bigotry on the subject, or the omnibus

proprietors are more powerful than the public interest. This seems no less true in Paris. Generally tramways are used only in the suburbs of European cities. One in Geneva is peculiar in having three rails—the center to keep the car in place, the outside wheels having no flanges.

We left America on the 5th of May. It is now the middle of September and our passage home is engaged for the second of October. Scotland claims these few remaining days. Stopping a few hours only in the busy city of Manchester, a night at Carlisle, another at Melrose and its wonderful Abbey, we reached at mid-day the city of Edinburgh. As we become acquainted with its features it begins to assert itself as the handsomest city in Europe. We think of The Hague, of Brussels, and of Paris, and incline to dispute her claim. Before we leave we yield our partiality for two at least of Edinburgh's rivals and no longer marvel at the admiration travelers bestow on Scotland's truly beautiful city. The "old town" combined with the "new" heightens the interest of both—the one of the other.

The monument to Walter Scott in Edinburgh is not inferior to the more expensive "Albert Memorial" in London. It is a delight to the eye—so majestic and graceful. Another to Robert Burns, near Holyrood, is only less conspicuous and less costly. Monuments to Playfair and to Hume are noticeable. Much more interesting was one to the "Republican Martyrs of 1794" than the more pretentious column and statue erected in memory of a visit to the city by the King, which, with a statue of Pitt and another elegant fluted column surmounted by a statue of Lord Melville, grace the public squares.

The bank buildings in Edinburgh are magnificent edifices. Few public buildings in any city equal them. The same may be said of the banks in Glasgow. Good hotels, so necessary in every place, add to the pleasures of a stay in Edinburgh.

An unfinished monument to the soldiers of the Napoleonic wars on Calton hill\* is

\* Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the half built monument to Washington that offends the eye at the American capital.

really more beautiful *incomplete* than if the original design were fully carried out.

The Castle, Holyrood Palace, monuments to Scott, Burns, Nelson, Dugald Stewart, and others already named, John Knox's house, the Church of St. Giles, the art gallery and museum, and many other interesting objects, give a pleasing variety to the "sights" of this picturesque city. We think there is no city in Europe that has so fine a cemetery as that we visited in the suburbs of Edinburgh. More poverty and intemperance are apparent in the "old town" than is seen in the cities on the continent. While jewelry and fancy stores line the streets of Paris, in Edinburgh book stores prevail. The old names of "The Edinburgh Review" and "Blackwood's Magazine" arrest the attention as we pass the publishing offices.

From Edinburgh to Stirling we pass through a fertile and beautiful country, not unlike New England. Sheep and fine cattle abound. Stirling is a point of great interest. Its castle, alone, repays a long journey. From its walls you may see the finest landscape in the realm. Added to its natural beauties are its historical associations. Here Wallace and Bruce achieved victories and suffered defeats. Bannockburn is in sight, and the river Forth, with its ancient bridges, is at your feet, and a rude monument to Wallace stands on the brow of a hill. The guide at the castle will tell you wonderful tales of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

From Stirling our route lies through the famous *Trossachs*, Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond, to Glasgow. Few more delightful excursions can be found in the world. Walter Scott's pen has made all the scenery of mountain and lake enchanting—of itself more lovely than words can fully describe. Only a day is occupied in the journey—too brief a time to satisfy even an indifferent spectator—sufficiently long, however, to travel by several modes of conveyance. From Callender by stage to and through the *Trossachs*, thence by steamboat across Loch Katrine to Stronachlachar, again by stage to Inversnaid, and again by steamboat through Loch Lomond to Balloch, and thence by rail to Glasgow. The current of travel along this route is great during the proper season—

Americans as usual contributing largely to it. The little steamers are adapted to their use, and much neater than boats generally are in Europe. The stages are comfortable—the fares high.

Travelers are constantly being surprised by unexpected objects of interest and beauty, however faithfully they may read their guide books. Glasgow surprised us by its elegance. What can be finer than George's square with its numerous statues and fountains! The Cathedral here is one of the most remarkable in Great Britain, in its size and in its good preservation. Protestant cathedrals, however, are much less attractive than the Catholic. The iconoclastic Puritans in the heat of the reformation stripped them of all ornament if they did not nearly demolish their very walls. In Glasgow we noticed advertisements in the newspapers reading—"Real Estate to be sold or leased." "Furniture to be sold at public roup." The Scotch dialect, when used in conversation, is often quite unintelligible to the born Yankee. Travelers, Americans at least, will, in looking for a good hotel, be attracted by the name "The Washington House," and they will not be disappointed in a trial.

Like the Wandering Jew we are impelled by time to "move on." Ayr, the birthplace of Robert Burns, is about 40 miles from Glasgow. The house in which Burns was born, the graves of his father, mother, and favorite sister, the old haunted kirk of Alloway, and the "brig of Doon" were all visited. Other scenes of Burns' poems lie all around. Near the "haunted kirk" is a fine and costly monument to the great poet. In it are preserved several interesting relics of his life and writings—among others the Bible he gave to his Mary when they "pledged their troth." The monument stands in a lovely garden of flowers about four miles from the town. Ayr and Ayrshire are inhabited by a thrifty people. Ayrshire cattle have a world-wide fame. A sheep fair was held in town during our stay. The great number of fine sheep we saw were not more interesting than the many well trained Shepherd's dogs accompanying their masters, and making a part of the fair.

Dumfries is about fifty miles from Ayr.

Here Burns died and was buried. The monument over his grave, like those at Ayr and Edinburgh, is worthy of Burns' memory, and honorable to his friends and admirers who erected it. Its interior, like the others also, is adorned with sculpture, tablets, and mementoes. Beneath it lie his own remains, those of several of his children, and of his wife, who lived thirty years after her husband's early death. At her request a poor letter-carrier was buried with the family, whose only claim was in having been one of Burns' chief boon companions in the poet's hilarious days. In the town you may visit the old haunts of Burns, and listen to many a tradition of his jolly but improvident life. Nothing of an intellectual phase is noticeable in Ayr or Dumfries. His inspiration came from nature alone. His democratic and liberal sentiments must have separated him from the aristocracy, who, to this day, regard him somewhat coldly.

Our visit to Scotland was during the

"equinoctial storm;" nevertheless, it was one of great enjoyment. The storm, however, at its height, prevented our crossing the channel to Belfast to see the Giant's Causeway, and to Dublin as we had intended. Instead, we devoted more time to Ayr and Dumfries—the scenes of Robert Burns' life and death. Thence we hurried to Liverpool to be ready for the "Bothnia." With one day to spare, we visited the old town of Chester, so famous for its ancient Roman wall, rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and still in good preservation. Roman baths used in A. D. 90, a Cathedral of the eleventh century, and other remains of the early centuries excite the wonder of the traveler. Crossing the river Dee we were in Wales. On this side of the river, opposite Chester, is the magnificent estate of the Duke of Westminster. The whole country is charming. Chester is 17 miles from Liverpool, connected by two railways, a part of which belongs to the first railroad built in England.

## SALARIES AND DEMAGOGISM.

It is of no use for public men to attempt to be other than they really are. Demagogism is a quality that will expose itself, and the tricks of the demagogue can be seen with half an eye in spite of the performer's attempt to pass them off as true statesmanship. At the Capitol, in this year of 1876, the most arrant set of tricksters that ever called themselves men are at work tinkering and bidding for votes. They imagine that they have discovered the high road to popularity. It is to cut down salaries. They are not going to look into the matter at all, and will ask no questions as to the effect it may have on the service, the right or the wrong in any given case, or whether they will allow fair pay for fair work, according to the times. The great Democratic party is to prove itself economical, and scorns to consider what is just, or what is best for the public service. The members think they can buy votes in this cheap way, as though the people had lost their senses, and become unable to distinguish between true statesmanship and shams.

The present rate of the salaries of the several classes of clerks was fixed by the Dem-

ocratic party in 1854. There was a Democratic Senate, House, and President, and a Democratic standing committee on "Retrenchment and Reform," and Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, a pronounced Democrat, was chairman. On the 16th of January, 1854, by direction of his committee, Mr. Adams introduced a bill to fix salaries of clerks at \$1,200 first-class, \$1,400 second-class, \$1,600 third-class, \$1,800 fourth-class. This Democratic bill for retrenchment and reform was read, and no Democrat objecting, it was ordered to a second reading.

On the 31st of January the bill came up again, and Mr. Adams for his Democratic committee made some interesting remarks, and asserted that clerks of a lower grade, if married, and having but a single child, could not, should the child die, pay the ordinary funeral expenses, but were dependent on the charity of their fellow-clerks for the means to give the dead a decent burial; and this was true.

The bill was passed in the Senate without any opposition, save a few remarks by John M. Clayton and John Bell, who contended that there should be some provision to pre-

vent the injustice of demanding the same amount and kind of service of a clerk of low salary that is required of one having a higher salary. Think of it! statesmen proposing to prevent injustice! The bill was approved by a Democratic President by the name of Frank Pierce, whose party fealty has never been called in question, and on the 22d of April it became a law to take effect on the first day of the previous July. Now, on this 22d day of April how did prices compare with to-day? Let us look at a few leading items retail:

	1854.	1876.
Beef, best cuts, per lb....	\$ 14	\$ 25
Flour, best family, bbl....	8.00	10.40
Coal, best, per ton.....	5.00	9.00
Pork, per lb.....	7½	15
Sugar, per lb.....	8	12
Milk, per qt.....	5	10
Coffee, per lb.....	19	45
Chickens, per pair.....	25 to 50c.	75c. to \$1.25
Rent, per month.....	\$20.00	
Same houses.....		45.00

It will be perceived that in the item of rent alone, which is nearly one-half the cost of living, there is an advance of more than 100 per cent., making a difference of just \$300 per annum, so that in point of fact a clerk of class one, salary \$1,200, only gets \$900, as compared with 1854, if we consider the advance in rent alone.

But let us compare the cost of living by items between the two periods. A man with a wife and two children, with economical habits and good health, can get on as follows, taking a moderate average, viz:

Rent per month, if lucky.....	\$45 00
General groceries.....	20 00
Meats at 92 lbs per month.....	23 00
Flour.....	3 00
Coal, and wood for kindling.....	10 00
Gas.....	3 00
Fruits and vegetables.....	4 00
Milk.....	4 00
	112 00

Per annum.....\$1,344 00

Now add other necessary expenses:

Clothing for 4 persons \$100 each.....	\$400 00
Servant.....	120 00
Newspapers, magazines, and books..	20 00
Pew rent.....	30 00
Contributions, political and charitable	25 00
Repairs and depreciation of furniture	20 00
Doctors bills and medicine.....	20 00

Total annual.....1,979 00

In 1854 the figures were:

Rent per month, easy.....	\$20 00
Groceries.....	15 00
Meats.....	13 00
Flour.....	2 00
Coal.....	6 50
Gas.....	1 50
Fruits, and vegetables.....	2 00
Milk.....	2 00
	62 00

Per annum.....\$744 00

Then add:

Servant.....	\$60 00
Clothing.....	300 00
Newspapers and books.....	20 00
Pew rent.....	20 00
Contributions.....	15 00
Repairs and depreciation furniture	20 00
Doctors bills and medicine.....	20 00

\$1,199 00

It will appear from these figures that in 1854 a clerk of class one, with a small family, could just make both ends meet, allowing nothing for amusements, or travel, or carriage hire, and other contingencies, and he could save nothing. It was this state of facts which led Mr. Adams to bring in his bill for an increase of salaries, and there was not demagogism enough in the whole of that Congress to oppose an objection to the measure, and it passed without opposition.

It will be perceived, also, that measured by what the pay will buy in necessary articles of living, the salary of \$2,000 in 1876 is only \$2 per annum more than the salary of a first-class clerk in 1854. Twelve hundred dollars in 1854 would purchase in necessary articles the same amount as \$1,979 will now.

It is a plain matter of arithmetic, and the conclusion is reached without allowing a penny for increased cost on account of a change in style of living. We take the identical quality of beef, pork, flour, &c., and the identical houses that were lived in then. The house which the writer hired for \$20 per month prior to the war is rented now at \$45, and called cheap at that, in spite of its increased years, and no improvements have been made on it either.

The members of Congress have discovered the changed figures as regards their own expenses, and raised their pay from \$3,000 to

\$5,000. This is right. The difference in the purchasing power of a dollar according to the prices given above is within a trifling fraction as three to five. The pay of the Democratic clerks of 1854 was equal, therefore, in the dollars now received by Republican clerks as follows :

1st class salary, 1854,	\$1,200;	in 1876 to	\$2,000
2nd	"	"	"
3rd	"	"	"
4th	"	"	"

These latter are the salaries which clerks should receive now to make their pay what it was intended to be, and what in the judgment of the Democratic Congress of 1854 was right.

But instead of this the several classes of clerks actually receive but three-fifths the amount intended, and it is proposed to rob them still further to make capital for the Democratic party.

As compared with 1854, the salaries now are :

Chief clerk's,	\$2,000;	purchasing power only	\$1,200
4th class,	1,800	"	"
3rd	"	"	"
2nd	"	"	"
1st	"	"	"

From these it is now proposed to take 10 per cent., and they will range :

Chief Clerks and Heads of Divisions....	\$1,000
Clerks of class four.....	900
Clerks of class three.....	800
Clerks of class two.....	700

Being exactly one half the value of the salaries as fixed by the Democrats for their appointees in 1854, and which will be absolutely less than the salaries paid at the commencement of this century.

The salaries of members of Congress in 1854 were \$3,000 per annum, and by the new bill they will be \$4,500, which is an increase of just one-half. If they desire economy, and it is right to deduct one-half from the salaries of poor clerks, why should not the deduction be made on the salaries of members as well? Does not economy demand it? Ah! Democratic Congressional patriotism stops just short of the Capitol, and number one must be cared for if times are hard, and people do demand economy. But the proposition shows the measure of statesmanship of the House majority, and how broad are the views of those men who have taken command of affairs for the time being.

## THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The essential business of Congress is at this date, (February 14th, 1876,) far behind. Since the close of the debate on amnesty the action in both houses has been desultory to a large degree. Proposals of all sorts are daily introduced, and either with or without discussion referred to the various standing committees. It is impracticable here to give more than a meager outline of the subjects which are brought to the attention of Congress—such as that of registered vessels; changes and corrections in the Revised Statutes; the disposition of public lands in the South and West; recovery of interest from the Pacific Railroad Company; the common unit of money with Great Britain; joint rules of the two Houses; the conduct of the Alaska Commercial Company; inquiry concerning officers of the army detailed for civil duty; concerning straw bids and the disposition of abandoned property; the purchase of silver coin; reform in the civil service; losses by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co.; Freedmen's

Saving and Trust Company; allegations in regard to the election of Senator George E. Spencer from the State of Alabama; proposal for improving the levees and the Mississippi basin; for agricultural schools; inquiry concerning the public printing for the War Department; concerning army officers employed in Washington, D. C.; concerning the appropriation for the Ute Indians, and their present hostile feeling; the memorial of women claiming the right of suffrage as citizens of the United States; a discussion on land entries, and the opportunities of fraud under the existing system; propositions and debates in regard to the finances; the currency and the banking system; proposed change of the law concerning third class mail matter; various memorials and propositions for internal improvements; a modification of the law prohibiting the sending of obscene matter through the mails; discussion on the decay of American commerce; a bill to prevent frauds in the prosecution of claims before the departments,

and to prohibit officers and employees of the Government acting as claim agents; memorial to regulate elections in Utah, and remedy their existing evils; proposition for the retirement of legal tenders; inquiry concerning the cash balances in the Treasury; concerning the award to the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos, and Colorado Railroad Company; proposal of more stringent legislation to suppress polygamy in Utah; protection to home industry; inquiry concerning the state of the Kansas Indian lands; proposed reorganization of the judiciary; removal of a Federal judge in Colorado; the payment of district judges for extra services; extension of time for the payment of Alabama claims; action of the Legislature of California proposing a change of our treaty with China so as to discourage the immigration of that people to our shores; inquiry concerning the management of the National Insane Asylum; concerning the work and disbursements of the New York post office building; proposal to prepare a form of government for the District of Columbia; proposed legislation for actions for damages to persons for injuries and death caused by the neglect or default of others; proposed repeal of the bankrupt law; proposed appropriation for the completion of the Washington monument; inquiry in regard to the affairs of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and many others of greater or less interest to the different sections of the country, to special classes, and to private individuals—when it is considered that each one, and all these subjects together, with many hundreds, and perhaps thousands more, consume the time of Congress, and then when the debates on topics of still wider national interest are added to the list some proximate conception may be formed of the labors imposed, and of the manner in which the two houses for the last month have been occupied.

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

Mr. O'Brien, of the House, proposed the following amendment, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That the following be proposed to the several States as an amendment to the Constitution:*

#### ARTICLE XVI.

SECTION 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no minister or preacher of the gospel or of any religious creed or denomination shall hold any office of trust or emolument under the United States or under any State; nor shall any religious test be required as a qualification for any office or public trust in any State, or under the United States.

SEC. 2. No money received by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised nor lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations; nor shall any minister or preacher of the gospel or of any religious creed or denomination hold any office in connection with the public schools in any State, nor be eligible to any position of trust or emolument in connection with any institution, public or private, in any State or under the United States which shall be supported in whole or in part from any public fund.

#### CHANGE OF A RULE.

Mr. Cox reported the following change of a rule, which was adopted:

"That Rule No. 120 be so amended that all after the word 'progress' be stricken out and there be added the following:

"Nor shall any provision in any such bill or amendment thereto, changing existing law, be in order except such as, being germane to the subject-matter of the bill, shall retrench expenditures."

In the discussion on this amendment the Democrats stated it to be their object to gain the power of decreasing the salaries of Government officials and employees. This on Monday, June 17th.

#### FURTHER PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Springer of the House introduced the following, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee:

*Resolved, &c., That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, namely:*

#### ARTICLE —.

The Congress shall not pass any local or special laws in any of the following enumerated cases; that is to say, for—

Granting pensions, bounties, lands, or prize-money to any person or persons, or for correcting the records of any department of the Government in reference thereto;



Granting relief to any person or persons or authorizing the payment of any claim against the United States or any officer thereof, except appropriations in general laws to pay the judgments of courts or commissions authorized by law;

Remitting fines, penalties, or forfeitures, creating, increasing, or decreasing fees, percentage, or allowances of public officers during the term for which said officers are elected;

Granting to any corporation, association, or individual the right to lay down railroad tracks, or amending existing charters for such purpose by confirming any special or exclusive privilege upon such corporation or association which it does not already have;

Granting to any corporation, association, or individual any special or exclusive privilege, subsidy, immunity, or franchise whatever;

Regulating the practice of courts or conferring special jurisdiction in a particular case on any of the courts of the United States, or commissions for the auditing of claims against the same.

In all other cases where a general law can be made applicable no special law shall be enacted, and in all cases the courts may determine whether any special law could have been embraced in a general enactment.

Attempts were likewise made in the House to adopt some form of amendment to be proposed to the Legislatures of the States in regard to the term of the Presidential office, and the eligibility of ex-Presidents.

The Judiciary Committee reported Tuesday, February 1, 1876, a proposed article, making ex-Presidents ineligible. Mr. Frye of the minority of the Committee reported an amendment making the term six years, and any person who has held the office two years ineligible ever after. Mr. New called up his proposition on the same subject; after long debate, the whole subject was voted down. This on Wednesday, February 2, 1876.

#### EFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

Mr. Whitehouse moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service be, and is hereby, instructed to inquire into any abuses or frauds that may exist in the administration and execution of existing laws affecting any branches of the public service, with a view to ascertain what changes and reformation can be made so as to promote integrity, economy, and efficiency therein. And for the purpose of enabling said committee to fully comprehend the workings of said branches of the

public service the investigations of said committee may cover such period in the past as said committee may deem necessary for its own guidance or information, or for the protection of the public interest, in the exposing of frauds or abuses of any kind that may exist in any Department; and said committee are authorized to send for persons and papers, and report by bill or otherwise."

#### ARMY OFFICERS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Banning moved the following, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the Secretary of War be directed to furnish this House a statement of all pay and allowances of every kind and nature whatever made to officers of the Army stationed or on duty in this city of Washington since the 4th of March, 1869, giving in detail the name and rank of such officers, the duties performed, the length of time each has been stationed or on duty in this city, the annual pay and allowances of rent, fuel, quarters, forage, in value received by each, and the authority of law under which such allowances and pay have been made."

#### TEXAS PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. Holman, by unanimous consent, then submitted the following preamble and resolution; which were read, considered, and agreed to:

"Whereas it is alleged that improper and fraudulent means were resorted to to influence legislation in the passage of the act of Congress entitled 'An act to incorporate the Texas Pacific Railroad Company, and to aid in the construction of its road, and for other purposes,' approved March 3, 1871, by persons interested in the passage of said act, and that contracts and combinations were subsequently entered into by said company, in violation of the terms of said act: Therefore

"Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into said allegations and report to the House whether improper or fraudulent means were resorted to in securing the passage of said act, and whether the said company has by its contracts and combinations with other companies done any other act which would justify the forfeiture of the franchises granted by said act, and to this end said committee may send for persons and papers."

Indeed, the Democratic majority of the House exhibit the most untiring zeal in making inquiry and examination into all subjects, great and small, upon the slightest suggestion, and from any quarter. There has been no lack of attention to anything of this sort which any party, however irrespon-

sible, may suggest; and the amount of work which these resolutions heap up on all hands is simply incalculable; of the time and expense thus consumed there is at present no visible end. But the Republicans do not object.

#### PACIFIC MAIL SUBSIDY.

Mr. Morrison submitted the following, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the papers laid before this House by the Clerk thereof in relation to the testimony taken before the Committee of Ways and Means (of the Forty-third Congress) 'upon the question of the corrupt use of money to procure the passage of an act providing for an additional subsidy in the China mail service' be taken from the table and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to inquire what action should be taken by the House in reference to the persons now members of this House charged with complicity in the said alleged corrupt use of money for the purpose aforesaid, or with giving false testimony in relation thereto, and report to the House."

This is simply carrying out the intention of the Forty-third Congress, whose Committee of Ways and Means went thoroughly into the exposure of this shameful fraud.

#### THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Senator Sherman moved to proceed to the consideration of a bill from the Finance Committee with an amendment, which was agreed to. This provides for the appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of a commission of five persons, no one of whom shall hold other office under the General or any State Government, nor shall they be advocates of prohibitory legislation or total abstinence. The term of office shall not exceed one year. They shall investigate the liquor traffic and manufacture, having special reference to revenue and taxation, distinguishing as far as possible, in the conclusions they arrive at, between the effects produced by the use of distilled or spirituous liquors and the use of fermented or malt liquors, in their economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects, in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and general welfare of the people; and also as to the practical results of license and restrictive legislation, and the effect thereby produced upon the consumption of

such liquors; also to ascertain whether the evils of drunkenness have been increased or decreased, and whether public morals have been improved thereby. They shall also gather information and take testimony as to whether the evil of drunkenness exists to the same extent, or more so, in other civilized countries, and whether those foreign nations that are considered the most temperate in the use of stimulants are so through prohibitory laws; and also to what degree prohibitory legislation has affected the consumption and manufacture of malt and spirituous liquors in this country.

Section second provides for the employment of a secretary at a salary of \$2,500, while the entire expenses are not to exceed \$10,000. A report is to be made to Congress through the President.

Senator Boggy, of Missouri, opposed the passage of the bill. "Not," said he, "that I am an advocate of intemperance, for I am a temperance man myself to a certain extent." In this he spoke for the Democrats of the whole country. Let the hosts of temperance men take notice.

The next day (Tuesday, January 25, 1876,) the following action was had in the Senate:

Senator Christianity offered the following amendment to the amendment:

"For the purpose of obtaining information which may serve as a guide to the system of legislation best fitted for the District of Columbia, the several Territories of the United States, and other places subject to the legislation of Congress in reference to the question of revenue from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and fermented liquors, and the effect of the use of such liquors upon the morals and welfare of the people of such District, Territories, and places."

Which, after some discussion, was adopted by a vote of 28 to 18. The question was then on the passage of the bill as amended, and the result was announced—yeas 37, nays 20; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Christianity, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamilton, Hamlin, Harvey, Howe, Ingalls, Jones, of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, of Maine, Morrill, of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, Spencer, West, Windom, Withers, and Wright—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Boggy, Caperton, Cooper, Davis, Dennis, Eaton, English, Gold-

thwaite, Gordon, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Key, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Norwood, Ransom, Stevenson, and Wallace—20.

ABSENT—Messrs. Alcorn, Anthony, Burnside, Cockrell, Edmunds, Hitchcock, Kelly, Kernan, Merrimon, Randolph, Robertson, Saulsbury, Thurman, Wadleigh, and Whyte—15.

The friends of temperance throughout the country may as well know at this point who are their friends and who are their opponents in the Senate of the United States, and it would be well to keep an eye on the disposition of this bill in the House.\*

#### PUBLIC LANDS IN SOUTHERN STATES.

Senator Clayton proposed a repeal of that section of the revised statutes which lays restrictions on the disposition of the public lands in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. It appears that by former legislation the citizens of these States, as well as others, are denied the provisions made in regard to the entry and purchase of other public lands, and the proposal now is to repeal these restrictions. It has occasioned considerable discussion in the Senate, which has brought out the fact that nine-tenths of these lands are unfit for agricultural purposes, but are chiefly valuable as timber lands; that they have been in the market for fifty years, and cannot find a purchaser at the low sum of 12½ cents per acre; that the repeal proposed would add wealth to the citizens of those States, furnish productive labor, increase immigration, and open up the means of supplying the vast prairie land to the west with lumber, while allowing those States the privilege of taxation on the lands which are now no benefit, but rather a hindrance to their development. It was objected, however, that this would suspend the benefits of the homestead law, and would rather increase than avoid the existing evils. Several amendments were proposed, and the question still remains undetermined in the Senate. This on Monday, February 14, 1876.

#### TREASURY ACCOUNTS.

On Wednesday, January 12, 1876, Senator

\*In this connection it may be a matter of interest likewise to know that the Honorable Mr. Ferry, the presiding officer of the Senate, has recently been chosen to the Presidency of the Congressional Temperance Society, and while his duties in the Senate will not permit him to give much time to the actual work, he has, with the fidelity of a true man, lent his moral support to the great cause, as he has also in his personal life and example.

Davis, of West Virginia, introduced a preamble and resolution, which declares there are discrepancies in the "statement of accounts, and provides that a committee of five be appointed to investigate the books and accounts of the Treasury Department with reference to the alleged discrepancies and alterations, and if any such be found to exist, to report the same and the extent and nature thereof, the years wherein they occur, by what authority made if any, the reasons that induced them, and generally such other and further information bearing upon the subject as to them may seem best, the committee to have power to send for persons and papers."

He endeavored to support his motion by a formidable array of figures and statements, to which Senator Boutwell, of Massachusetts, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, replied by a general explanation of the principles on which the business of that department is conducted, and by showing how it is that the apparent discrepancies are made to disappear. The subject was resumed January 18th, and Senator Boutwell proceeded to take up in order the items of difference alleged by Senator Davis. The first item of difference is \$3,271,970.43, which results from a difference in the manner of preparing the statements, and is clearly shown by a comparison of the accounts. The second item of difference alleged is \$1,437,925.02, which is explained by the different data included under the head of "net ordinary expenditures." The next item relates to pension expenditures, several amounts of which are given as discrepancies, but which are all explained by a reference to the different heads under which they were arranged for different years. The next item relates to errors in the statements of revenue collected, which were gross errors made by one of the accounting clerks, and were corrected in a subsequent report. Senator Boutwell made similar explanations in regard to the statements of the public debt from time to time. This was followed by a long and desultory debate by several Senators on the manner of keeping the books of the Treasury Department, and of making reports from them year by year to Congress and the country. The ques-

tion was at length raised as to the proper committee to which the subject should be referred. It was sent to the Finance Committee, whose chairman, Senator Sherman, on Wednesday, February 9, 1876, reported back the resolution of Senator Davis with an amendment, which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate, as soon as practicable, a statement of all balances due to the United States from public officers, and all such balances due from other parties no longer in the public service, distinguishing those whose accounts with the United States have been finally passed upon and adjudicated and those whose accounts are yet unsettled and subject to additional credits, stating the nature of such accounts and the credits in question; the statement to embrace the accounts of all such officers or parties in which such balances have respectively accrued since the 1st day of January, 1830, and to set forth respectively and as near as practicable the period over which the accounts extended and the amounts involved therein. Also to furnish a detailed statement of the stocks held by the United States in trust or to secure moneys paid, the character of such stocks, under what law or by what authority, and at what time the same were acquired, and on what amount thereof, if any, has there been a default in the payment of interest due thereon.

The matter is of no political significance whatever, and will prove one of the greatest labor and complication.

#### DISTRICT BONDS.

By former legislation it was provided that to meet the debts and liabilities of the District of Columbia 3.65 bonds should be issued. At the present time the bonds actually issued amount to between fourteen and fifteen millions of dollars. The interest was due on the bonds on the 1st of February, 1876. A joint resolution was introduced in the House upon this subject, and on Monday, January 24th, Mr. Buckner, from the District Committee, called up the question. The resolution directs the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to transfer to the Treasurer of the United States, for the payment of the interest due the 1st of February, 1876, on the bonds of said District issued

under the provisions of the act of Congress, approved June 20, 1874, entitled "An act for the government of the District of Columbia and for other purposes," the sum of \$222,797.50 from any unexpended appropriations heretofore made by Congress, or from any revenues derived by taxation on the property of said District of Columbia subject to the requisition of said Commissioners; provided that all certificates heretofore issued by the board of audit, including those converted into 3.65 bonds and those which have not been so converted, and all certificates hereafter to be issued by the board of audit, or their successors in office, shall not exceed in the aggregate the sum of \$15,000,000.

The proposition has provoked a long and detailed discussion, protracted through many days, and embracing a great variety of subjects more or less complicated with this indebtedness. The occasion has been improved by many members of both Houses to rake out from the rubbish of the past few years all the complaints and allegations against the action of the late District government, and of various prominent officials thereof. But still the fact remains that the debt stands, and the interest should be paid. The situation of the question before Congress at this date, (February 14th,) is that the resolution having passed the House, and then the Senate with some amendment, is now in the hands of a special joint committee with a view of harmonizing the conflicting elements, and meeting with honor the obligations of the Government.

#### THE MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATION.

This bill was taken up in the House for consideration, Wednesday, January 26, 1876. The bill proposes \$437,470; this being \$193,829 less than the estimates of the War Department. The debate upon this bill has called forth a large mass of figures and comparisons of accounts, and statements of expenditures for a series of years. The Democrats have lost no opportunity to slur the institution which before the rebellion was their own special pet, and from which so many rebel officers obtained the knowledge which they afterwards so shamefully misused. The Republicans, on the other hand,

have stood up manfully for the academy all through this running fire of debate. The bill with certain amendments passed the House January 31, 1876, being the first regular appropriation bill that has been sent to the Senate during the present session.

#### DIPLOMATIC APPROPRIATION BILL.

Tuesday, February 3, 1876, this bill was called up in the House. The innovations upon the past practice of the Government which the bill proposes may be summarized in two classes: first, a reduction in the number of diplomatic and consular representatives of our Government abroad; and second, a general reduction of salaries. It reduces the appropriation to \$922,847, being from that of last year a reduction of \$429,639. In the discussion which has followed some of the Democratic members (as Messrs. Springer and Cox) have taken occasion to be very witty at the expense of some of our foreign representatives; in fact, without apparently any regard to the time wasted and the delay of business, these gentlemen seem to imagine that a session of a Democratic House of Congress is mainly for the purpose of allowing them to prepare and deliver long fanfaronades and travesties of the Government and its officials for the amusement of their fellow members and the country. It is sometimes well to relax a little from the earnest work of life, and viewed in this light such buffoonery may be admissible. But it should not be vitiated by the bad taste of holding up to ridicule such a man as Minister Maynard as one who has been lifted up from "the material of effete Congressmen!" Mr. Cox should have remembered his own political history. The diplomatic bill is yet hanging in the House unfinished. This on February 14, 1876.

#### THE LOUISIANA SENATORS.

On Tuesday, January 18, 1876, Senator Thurman presented the credentials of Thomas B. Eustis, claiming to be Senator elect from the State of Louisiana, which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and on Friday, January 23, Senator Morton from that Committee reported:

"That in their opinion there is no vacancy in the office of Senator from the State of Louisiana, P. B. S. Pinchback having been

elected in January, 1873, to the term beginning on the 4th of March, 1873. They therefore recommend that the papers belonging to Mr. Eustis be laid upon the table."

This was contested by Senator Saulsbury, a member of the same committee, who claimed there was a vacancy in the Senatorship of that State. Prior to this, on March 5, 1875, Senator Morton had submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That P. B. S. Pinchback be admitted as a Senator from the State of Louisiana for the term of six years, beginning the 4th day of March, 1873."

It was now taken up as unfinished business, and the pending motion was on the amendment of Senator Edmunds that the word "not" be inserted before the word "admitted." On this motion Senator Morton made a long argument, referring to the documents of the case, and contending that the question should have been decided long ago, and that the Senate should now admit Mr. Pinchback to his seat. He quoted from a recent speech of Mr. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, made before the members of the Legislature of that State and a large assembly of the people.

The question was again brought up Monday, February 7, 1876, when Senator Thurman made a strong opposition to the admission of the claimant.

He, too, went largely into the old history of the case, citing from documents and reports, and contending that the claimant had no title to a seat in the Senate. Senator Howe replied with great force and effectiveness to the main positions taken on the other side. Here the question rests in the Senate. It ought to be decided at once. The credit of the Senate as well as justice to the claimant and the State is deeply involved in this matter.

#### EULOGIES ON THE DEAD.

The death of Hon. Mr. Starkweather, a member of the House from Connecticut, which occurred during the last month and after an illness of but a few days, has only been announced. No time is yet fixed for the addresses usual in Congress on these occasions.

The eulogies upon Vice President Wilson, both in the Senate and the House, were pronounced on Friday, January 21, 1876; in the Senate by Messrs. Boutwell, Hamlin, Cragin, Cameron, Stevenson, Ingalls, Boggy, Anthony,

and Dawes; in the House by Messrs. Warren, Harris, Kelley, Knott, Clymer, Kasson, Banks, Lynch, Hurlbut, Reagan, Joyce, Lawrence, Lapham, and Blair.

The eulogies on Senator Ferry, of Connecticut, were pronounced on Tuesday, February 8th, 1876; in the Senate, by Messrs. Eaton, Sargent, Bayard, Howe, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, Wadleigh, and English; and in the House by Messrs. Phelps, Seelye, and Garfield, who read the address of the late Hon. Mr. Starkweather, prepared for the occasion just before his own brief sickness and sudden death, which occurred on Sunday, February 6th, at Willard's Hotel. The Christian sentiment breathing through these orations are a proof of a deep-seated faith in the hearts of many of our public men respecting the sublime doctrine of our religion. If no other flower grows upon the grave of the distinguished dead, this would be enough almost to reconcile us to the great mystery.

#### THE CENTENNIAL APPROPRIATION.

This subject has given rise to the most able, eloquent, and lengthened debate which has marked the course of affairs in Congress since that on amnesty was closed. On Monday, January 17th, 1876, Mr. Hopkins, of the House, from the Committee on Appropriations, called up the following bill, and gave way to Mr. Hardenbergh, of New Jersey, who supported it by a sensible, straightforward speech, giving an account of the inception of the idea of the celebration, of its progress to the present time, and of the part which the Federal Government should take in it.

The preamble sets forth the preceding acts of Congress and of the Executive in relation to the Centennial, and the bill reads as follows:

*"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of \$1,500,000, to complete the Centennial buildings and other preparations, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which shall be paid on the drafts of the president and treasurer of the Centennial board of finance, one-third immediately after the passage of this act, and the remainder in four equal monthly payments: Provided, That in the distribution of any*

moneys that may remain in the treasury of the Centennial board of finance after the payment of its debts, as provided for by the tenth section of the act of Congress, approved June 1, 1872, incorporating said Centennial board of finance, the appropriation hereinbefore made shall share equally with the holders of the said Centennial stock, and a like per centage thereon be paid into the United States Treasury as may be paid to the holders of the said stock: *Provided also, That the Government of the United States shall not, under any circumstances, be liable for any debt or obligation of the United States Centennial commission or the Centennial board of finance, or any payment in addition to the foregoing sum."*

Upon this proposition very many of the leading speakers and orators in both Houses have delivered addresses more or less elaborate. The humorists and wits of Congress have illustrated their peculiar talents, and the stoics and cynics have not lost their opportunity. The constitutional constructionists had full swing. Two amendments were adopted. Fifty speeches were made, some of them very eloquent, for and against. But the patriotism of the House prevailed, and the bill as amended was then adopted by the following vote, Tuesday, January 25, 1876:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, George A. Bagley, William H. Baker, Bailton, Banks, Banning, Barnum, Bass, Blaine, Blair, Bliss, Bradley, William K. Brown, Burleigh, Cason, Caswell, Chapin, Chittenden, Clymer, Crapo, Crounse, Cutler, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dannel, Eames, Egbert, Ellis, Farwell, Forney, Foster, Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, Gause, Gibson, Hale, Hancock, Haralson, Hardenbergh, Benjamin W. Harris, Harrison, Hathorn, Abram S. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hoge, Hopkins, Hubble, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Jenks, Thomas L. Jones, Kasson, Kelley, Ketchum, King, Lamar, George M. Landers, Lane, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Levy, Luttrell, Edmund W. M. Mackey, Levi A. Mackey, Magoon, Maish, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Meade, Miller, Money, Monroe, Morey, Morgan, Mutchler, Nash, Norton, O'Brien, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, William A. Phillips, Pierce, Piper, Pfalsted, Platt, Powell, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, Randall, Reagan, John Reilly, John Robbins, William M. Robbins, Roberts, Miles Ross, Sobieski Ross, Sampson, Schleicher, Schumaker, Seelye, Simmickson, Siemon, Smalls, A. Herr Smith, Straft, Stowell, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Thompson, Throckmorton, Martin I. Townsend, Washington Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waddell, Alexander S. Wallace, John W. Wallace, Walls, Ward, Warren, Erastus Wells, G. Wiley Wells, Wheeler, Whitehouse, Whiting, Wigginton, Andrew Williams, Alpheus S. Williams, Charles G. Williams, Wilshire, Alan Wood, jr., Fernando Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth, and Young—146.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, John H. Bagley, jr., John H. Baker, Beebe, Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, John Young Brown, Buckner, Horatio C. Burchard, Samuel D.



Burchard, Cabell, John H. Caldwell, William P. Caldwell, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Cate, Caulfield, John B. Clark, of Kentucky, John B. Clark, Jr., of Missouri, Cochrane, Collins, Conger, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Andrew H. Hamilton, Henry R. Harris, John T. Harris, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Hendee, Henderson, Henkle, Hereford, Goldsmith W. Hewitt, Holman, Hooker, Hoskins, House, Ranton, Hurd, Frank Jones, Joyce, Kehr, Kimball, Knott, Franklin, Landers, Lewis, Lord, Lynde, McFarland, McMahon, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Morrison, Neal, New, Phelps, John F. Phillips, Poppleton, Potter, Rea, Rice, Riddle, Robinson, Rusk, Savage, Sayler, Scales, Sheakley, Singleton, William E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Terry, Thomas, Thornburgh, Tucker, Tufts, Turney, John L. Vance, Robert B. Vance, Waldron, Gilbert C. Walker, Walling, Walsh, Whitthorne, Wilke, Willard, James Williams, James D. Williams, William B. Williams, Willis, Benjamin Wilson, James Wilson, and Yeates—130.

Not Voting—Messrs. Durand, Ely, Robert Hamilton, Hays, Lynch, Odell, Packer, Parsons, Payne, James B. Reilly, Starkweather, Charles C. B. Walker, White, and Jeremiah N. Williams—14.

The bill then went to the Senate, and was taken up Wednesday, February 9, 1876. Senator Morrill, of Maine, supported it by a strong speech. He showed a list of the nations that had been invited to the Exposition, numbering thirty-six—all having accepted the invitation, and had read the acceptance of Russia, Germany, and Turkey as specimens of the rest. A general debate then followed, during which Senator McCreery offered the following substitute:

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble, on the 4th of July next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, in their respective cities, towns, villages, neighborhoods, or wherever they may be, publicly to testify their joy at the one hundredth return of that auspicious day, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayer and such religious exercises and ceremonies as may be appropriate to the occasion and sanctioned by their own consciences."

He followed it with a speech, to which Senator Cameron replied in the following happy strain:

"Mr. President, I am inclined to think that the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky is a good one. I like very well the idea of the Senator from Kentucky, and I will join with him if he will make his proposition a separate bill. I shall be very sorry to see any amendment to this bill, but I like the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky and I will vote for it as a separate bill; for I cannot imagine anything better than to

have a jollification in every village and in every town and in every city in this broad country on the coming Fourth of July. I will go down to Owensborough and see my friend in the blue-grass country, because I know he will treat me kindly and with great hospitality; he will treat me and everybody else who comes there with the hospitality which I well know will be extended by Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to every one who goes there. The celebration at Philadelphia is to last for months; but why can we not have a village celebration everywhere, and have the fiddle and have the old contradance—none of your new-fashioned affairs, but the old dance which was danced in the time of the Revolution? I would have all that revived. I would during the coming year revive everything that was jolly; and I would make everybody happy that I could make happy; and I am sure that the Senator from Kentucky would be the most delighted of all delighted people to see everybody around him happy. He is not opposed to this exhibition, I am sure, but he believes that the people ought to have another opportunity—all the people. He says that will cost nothing. Does it not cost a day's work lost by everybody who goes to have a country frolic? Let him look at home; every laborer who quits his workshop, every mechanic who leaves his place of business, every merchant who leaves his store to go and have a jollification loses a day's work surely, and the money he spends besides. Why should they not have an opportunity to do so if they desire it? I am for giving everybody that opportunity. But that does not argue that we shall not have a great international exhibition where everybody is coming, and where it is our duty to treat everybody well when he does come. It is no longer a question whether people will come; the invitations have gone out, and the host must be prepared to receive his guests, and receive them in such a way as will not only be creditable to him, but to those he invites to come and see him.

"I will only repeat, that after this bill is passed, as I trust it will be, if the Senator from Kentucky will bring up his proposition as a separate bill I will vote for it, and I will contribute out of my own purse to pay for part of it."

The substitute was rejected by a vote of 45 to 12—15 not voting.

Senator Edmunds made an ineffectual attempt to strike out the preamble of the bill.

Senator Eaton was violent against the appropriation, and in the course of his remarks said the whole debt of the American people

was at this time \$8,000,000,000, on which they had to pay an annual tax of \$730,000,000 for interest and other expenses. He disclaimed the meanness and dishonor imputed to the opposers of the bill. He was for paying not one single dollar!

On Friday, February 11th, 1876, the subject was again called up, and the discussion proceeded. More than thirty Senators spoke upon the question—some of the speeches being very elaborate and eloquent. Senator Edmunds proposed a division, and that the vote be taken on the body of the bill. The yeas and nays were ordered, and the result stood 41 to 15, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Boutwell, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Caperton, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dennis, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamlin, Harvey, Hitchcock,

Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Kelly, Logan, McDonald, McMillan, Maxey, Mitchell, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Sargent, Spencer, Wallace, and Windom—41.

NAYS—Messrs. Alcorn, Cooper, Eaton, Goldthwaite, Hamilton, Howe, Kernan, Key, McCreery, Merrimon, Stevenson, Thurman, Wadleigh, Whyte, and Withers—15.

ABSENT—Messrs. Boggs, Booth, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Christiancy, Cockrell, Davis, English, Gordon, Johnston, Norwood, Saulsbury, Sherman, West, and Wright—16.

The preamble was then adopted by a vote of 37 to 16. So the bill was passed. This makes the contribution of the Government to the great celebration. The fine and glowing sentiments of the orators cannot be here reproduced. But the million and a half thus appropriated is after all the most eloquent speech of all. May the hopes of the nation not be disappointed!

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

### NATIONAL POLITICS.

...The situation remains unchanged, except in so far as the folly of the Confederate Democracy in and out of Congress continues to open the eyes of peaceful liberty-loving people. It is astonishing to observe how one crisis reproduces the features of another. In many respects the situation is the same as in 1856. Twenty years—1876—and we are again confronted by a pestilent political abstraction—State sovereignty, not State rights—being used as a potent instrumentality to mould and knit into re-cohering force a sectional South, led and directed by one party and one set of leaders. The real issue is still one of sovereignty; the real purpose is that of control. In some respects the present struggle for the success of the political abstraction which dominates the Democracy presents features more dangerous than did the contest of twenty years since and later. It is even more disintegrating in its essential characteristics. The doctrine of State sovereignty was then put forward as an excuse and argument for the defense of slavery, and as the ready cloak under which the subsequent slaveholders' rebellion was sustained and made respectable. The economic value as well as the political and administrative interests involved in the system of slavery were sufficient to lend great

coherence to politico-social theories which are essentially destructive and disintegrative in character. Slavery has passed away. It will never return—in the form of personal chattelism at least. But the doctrine of State sovereignty and primary State allegiance has been glorified by the civil war. It has become the symbol and shibboleth of a "Lost Cause," to be historically sustained by its renewal as a political agency, and to be vindicated only through its successful conquest of a controlling vantage ground within the Union. The civil war made the Union a visible national entity; the would-be rehabilitated sectional South seeks to return it to the position of a confederation; of a compact between "independent" States, having, according to the Lamar theory, sovereign power only in its relations to foreign nations, delegated and limited powers derived, not from the whole PEOPLE, but from the corporate polity or ideal body or bodies known as the STATE or States within the Federation. The Confederate Democracy have uncovered their hands too soon. They are caught in their own snare.

...The bold course pursued by the Republican minority in the House has compelled them to put their real purpose foremost, and to-day we see that the old tactics, the ancient purposes, are being pursued and intended.

Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, pronounces for Calhounism; Mr. Hill declares the South, as a section, is here and to stay; and that its staying means a defiant determination to rule on that basis of sectionalism; Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, and Mr. Cox, of New York, show how subservient the Northern Democracy can again be to the behests of a sectional Democratic South; while Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, and R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, frankly avow in and out of Congress their own and associates desire to obtain control of the national or "Federal" purse, (as they would prefer to call it,) to rebuild the fortunes of the South, by means of subsidized railroads, Mississippi levees, and the many thousand war claims whose payment would require hundreds and perhaps thousands of millions of dollars, in order that thereby the South may become again the dominating power in or out of the Union. This bold and daring policy has been pursued by successive steps up to the present standpoint, when its comprehensive character and defiant attitude can be seen very clearly by whose chooses to look through the mists of debate. There are several marked eras or steps in the progress of renewed Southern sectionalism. Foremost among these are the following:

The plans of murder, violence, and organized intimidation whereby the several Southern States have been dragged into a renewed alliance with the Democracy. This system was first successfully organized and carried out in the States wherein the whites were a majority; and wherein, if let alone, there was every probability of a considerable body making cause with the colored voters. These States are Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and, finally, Arkansas. The second step is seen in the outrages which were perpetrated in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi—Florida may be left out for the present. In Alabama ballot-box stuffing supplemented intimidation. The periods in which this course was most thoroughly pursued were from 1868 to 1871, and again from the fall of 1873 to the close of 1875. The first was that of the Ku-Klux conspiracy; the second is that of the White League movement. There is an essential

difference between the two—at least in the pretenses put forth for their existence. The first was an avowed terrorism designed to destroy the fruits of the war and put the South into the hands of its old leaders. The second is cloaked by pretenses of reform and good government. Essentially the spirit and purposes are identical. The difference in effect consists in the fact that there has been an intervening period of defamation and slander.

Public opinion sustained and demanded repressive legislation in 1871 against the Ku-Klux conspirators. The astute Confederate leaders saw that they could not achieve their purpose of making a sectional unit of the South unless they turned the tide of feeling on the Southern situation in their favor, instead of allowing it to continue against them. They succeeded in part in doing this: First, by the nomination of Horace Greeley in 1862, and a formal abandonment of civil inequality as based upon the existence of color, race, or former condition. This "tub to the whale" accomplished the second fact—which was the securing of Northern friends in the press and on the forum. A brevet Democracy was created. The so-called "Liberal" press worked up the crusade against Southern Republicans by wholesale defamation and the perversion of effect for cause, where the writers and defamers were in part honest. Under the reaction thus produced, which was powerfully aided (through the same unjudicial journalism) by the honest efforts of Republicans to get rid of and correct abuses which had grown up as a natural result of the war expansion and of the system of speculative operations that unsettles all values and removes from the minds of ambitious men the idea of productive toil and honest rendering of efforts before achieving substantial results.

...Under these two processes—organized intimidation and outrage at the South, combined with social ostracism—the Confederate Democracy have been enabled to break down Republicanism there, while the brevet Democracy of the North succeeded on their behalf in changing public opinion for a brief period; long enough, however, to enable the Democracy to carry several States, and elect

a majority of the House of Representatives. The same processes have enabled the White Leaguers to pretend to be the representatives of the tax-payers *vs.* the tax-eaters; of the plundered *vs.* the plunderers; of intelligence and public virtue *vs.* public vice and ignorance.

It is an impossibility, however, for such masquerading to be maintained, and intoxicated with what they really deem their approaching triumph, the Confederate Democracy have shown their plans too fully. The election of Mr. Kerr as speaker was the significant opening of the campaign. Mr. Randall had been a soldier early in the civil war on the Union side. He had voted for all war supplies. He represented as vigorously as is possible for a Democrat the idea of national unity. Mr. Kerr had been, on the other hand, an avowed sympathizer with the South. He was among the ablest and most untiring of the Bourbon leaders North while in Congress, from 1865-'6 to 1872-'3. He believes in and defends a sectional South, and as a corollary is in full sympathy with the policy by which two or three Northern States are to be carried, and control of the National Government thereby obtained at the coming Presidential election. Wisdom would have dictated an avoidance of the second step or steps in the movement. These were the attempt to reopen the Louisiana question; the debate on amnesty; and lastly, that revival of Calhounism which attended on the Centennial discussion. But it was not to be. The North has been or is being aroused to the trouble before it, and will, if it does not already, clearly see the danger of trusting the Union into the hands of those who have no faith in its vital characteristics, and no desire to see it live unless they can control its forces and policy.

...The situation resolves itself into an imposing struggle for control. There is no attempt made to conceal the Democratic belief that their party will carry every one of the former slave States, (including West Virginia,) except South Carolina. To do so is to organize violence sufficiently extensive and vigorous enough as to insure that the 20,000 Republican majority in Louisiana, the 35,000 in Mississippi, the 10,000 in Ala-

bama, the 9,000 in North Carolina, and the 3,000 or more in Florida shall be overcome. One method of doing this is to cripple the Administration in all the avenues looking to the enforcement of order, the working of the courts, and the execution of the laws—revenue, justice, or otherwise. Hence the cry for "reform and retrenchment." It can be readily seen that if the former slave States can be White Leagued into a united Democratic vote, that it will not take many Northern States to insure a Democratic and sectional triumph, and make the Confederate Democracy masters of the next Presidency, and the administration under it. The problem is a simple one. The sixteen States that were formerly slave territory give 138 votes in the electoral college. The twenty-two (including Colorado) which embrace the free Territory cast in all 231 electoral votes. Therefore, 185 votes are necessary for a choice. The Southern vote, if cast solid, would need 47 Northern votes to elect their Presidential ticket. These votes they expect to obtain from Indiana, (15,) New York, (35,) Connecticut, (6;) in all 56 votes. By leaving out South Carolina, (seven votes,) they would still have two majority. They also believe in their ability to lose Florida and Louisiana, (12 votes,) and to carry New Jersey and Oregon at least, in addition to those named. But the fact that needs remembrance is not only the possibility, but the probability, from this stand point, of their ability to carry 131 electoral votes solid from the States formerly slave-holding and rebel, and in which the doctrines of sectionalism and State sovereignty have their chief abiding place. Should this be so, the campaign will turn on the three States of Indiana, New York, and Connecticut, whose fifty-six votes will decide whether or not there shall be a continuance of national progress and security, or a bitter and revolutionary reaction likely to end only in another outbreak. Perhaps this is the real design.

...The country, the intelligence of the masses, as well as the great interests that are to be affected by such a result are not likely to remain idle in the presence of an emergency which threatens to open such a

very Pandora box of evils as this. The way to defeat it is to arouse a combative and patriotic public opinion. For the first time in its history the South is sensitive to this power. The good-will of the loyal people must be actively brought to bear upon those who are struggling to create and build up the new order which free labor and equity in law and rights demand. The stern indignation that has before been evoked must be re-aroused to repress the disorder and violence that has so long existed, and threatens to break out again with renewed power.

## STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

...On the 22d of February State conven-

tions will be held at Indianapolis, (Ind.,) Chicago, (Ill.,) and Madison, (Wis.,) Delegates will be nominated for the National Convention, as well as declarations of principles, &c., made for party purpose. The probability now is that the Indiana delegation will be instructed to present Senator Morton's honored name as their choice for President. Illinois will offer the name of the gallant John A. Logan, while Wisconsin now seems likely to instruct for the Hon. James G. Blaine, the sagacious and able Republican leader in the House of Representatives. Indiana and Illinois Republicans are preparing for a very vigorous campaign.

## EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

## THE EXECUTIVE.

## GENERAL GRANT'S RECEPTION.

The President's third evening reception will be held on Tuesday evening, February 22d, from 8 to 10 o'clock.

## VICE CONSULS.

The President has recognized Augustus Norton as vice consul of Uruguay for New York, and William Lamb as vice consul of Sweden and Norway at Norfolk.

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

## STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of January, 1876, is as follows:

Debt bearing interest in coin:	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$1,012,721,850 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	687,884,750 00
	<u>\$1,700,606,600 00</u>

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:	
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent,	\$14,000,000 00
Debt on which interest has	
ceased since maturity.....	9,269,760 26

Debt bearing no interest:	
Old demand and legal-tender	
notes.....	\$371,341,607 50
Certificates of deposit.....	40,600,000 00
Fractional currency.....	45,864,382 16
Coin certificates.....	34,001,400 00
	<u>\$492,410,389 66</u>

Total debt.....	\$2,216,286,749 92
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Interest.....	\$28,140,231 33
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Total debt, principal and interest.....	\$2,244,426,981 25
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Cash in Treasury:	
Coin.....	\$73,601,361 41
Currency.....	11,902,560 04
Special deposit held for redemption	
of certificates of deposit	
as provided by law.....	40,600,000 00
	<u>\$126,103,941 45</u>

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
February 1, 1876.....	\$2,18,233,039 80
Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
January 1, 1876.....	2,119,832,195 27

Decrease of debt during the past	
month.....	\$1,599,155 47

Decrease of debts since June 30, '75,	\$10,455,686 52
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Bonds issued to the Pacific Railway Companies, interest payable in lawful money—Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512.00; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$323,117.56; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,513.06; interest repaid by transportation of mails, etc., \$5,669,033.76; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,472,479.30.

## THE REDEMPTION AGENCY.

The average amount of national bank notes received for redemption in lawful money—returned is now about \$1,000,000 a day. The bulk of the receipts are of notes fit for circulation. These are sent back to the banks of issue as soon as assorted. The clerks in the redemption bureau are now quite expert. The banks in large cities find it inconvenient to handle the large accumulations of bank notes, which do not count in the deposit reserves, and they like to exchange them at every opportunity for legal tenders, which are more desirable.

## TREASURY DECISIONS.

The Treasury Department has decided that sirup valued at from thirty-five to sixty cents per gallon and of a quality fit for table use, whether manufactured from sugar or molasses, is embraced in the codified tariff schedule "G" as assimilating in general appearance, quality, value, and the uses to which it is put, to sirup of sugar cane. Sirup of a lower grade, made from a residuum known to refiners as sugar-house molasses, should be classified as a-simulating molasses.

## RATE OF DUTY ON GOODS WITHDRAWN.

Hereafter duties on goods withdrawn from warehouse, or for consumption under the privilege of the penal bond, previous to the date of a decision of the Treasury Department raising the rate of duty on similar goods, will be liquidated at the rate prescribed by the Department in any decision existing at the time of such withdrawal.

## TRANSPORTATION OF MERCHANDISE THROUGH CANADA.

Article 19 of the Regulations of March 30, 1875, Treasury Department, which requires that goods shipped from one point to another within the United States, partly by land and partly by water, shall be accompanied by a special manifest which shall be retained by the master of the vessel or conductor of the car, and shall accompany the merchandise throughout its entire trip until its return to the United States, is modified as follows, as regards shipments which may be divided during transit for convenience of transportation:

When merchandise transported by water is to be transferred to cars or other vehicles for transportation by land, if the transfer to the car or vehicle be not immediately made, the customs official supervising such transfer will retain the manifest accompanying the goods, and check the cargo into a storehouse, to be under customs lock or seal.

At the time of the loading of the merchandise on the cars or other vehicle a special manifest will be prepared for each car or vehicle, and certified, and forwarded therewith; and the quantity of goods loaded upon each car or vehicle will be indorsed on the original manifest arriving with the vessel, so that such manifest will show that the whole shipment has been forwarded. The original manifest will accompany the last shipment of the goods to their destination.

At the port of final destination in the United States, the inspecting officer will check off the portions of the invoice as they arrive upon the copy of the manifest forwarded by mail from the port of original departure, and, on arrival of the last portion, such copy will be compared with the original manifest arriving with the merchandise.

These regulations have been concurred in by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

## ECONOMY IN TELEGRAM TOLLS.

Commissioner Pratt has issued a circular to collectors and other internal revenue officials prohibiting the use of the telegraph in communicating with the office when the mails will answer if letters are sent without any delay.

## WAR DEPARTMENT.

## CONFEDERATE WAR RECORDS.

The Secretary of War has written a letter to the Secretary of the Southern Historical Society at Richmond, regarding the existence of records of the late war, and to the incompleteness of the Confederate records in the War Department, as compared with those of the Federal Government, which is owing to the fact that the Department has only those of the former that were captured,

and the Secretary is gratified to learn of the disposition of certain parties holding Confederate records to place them at the disposal of the Department for use in a publication of the records of the war. The Department is anxious to receive every official report, letter, telegram, or order emanating from either side during the late war, and has no thought of discriminating in favor of one section or against another in their publication.

## ARTILLERY MANUAL.

General Order No. 3 from the Adjutant General's Office directs that the manual for serving and working heavy artillery, published in appendix No. 2 of the tenth edition of Lieutenant Colonel Roberts' "Hand-book of Artillery," be adopted for the United States army until a regular and more comprehensive system of instruction for siege and the sea-coast artillery has been authorized.

## NAVY DEPARTMENT.

## NAVAL NEWS.

The United States supply ship *Supply* is ordered from New York to proceed to Civita Vecchia, where she will receive on board the monument to be erected here to the memory of those in the naval service who fell in defense of the Union. Also such contributions as American artists wish to send to the Centennial exhibition. She will then proceed to Leghorn, to take on board contributions from artists in that section. On her way home she will touch at Tangier, in Morocco. No vessel will be sent to the north of Europe to receive articles for the exhibition. The *Supply* will probably reach Civita Vecchia in about thirty days, and will return to Philadelphia early in April.

## COST OF STEAM WAR VESSELS.

In answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives of January 5, the Secretary of the Navy has sent in a report of the chief of the bureau of construction, giving information with regard to the cost of building eight steam vessels of war authorized by the act of February 10, 1873. The statement is as follows: The *Adams*, 615 tons, \$331,509.72; built by contract; nearly ready for sea. *Enterprise*, 615 tons, \$396,205.01; built by contract; requiring outfits to be ready. *Essex*, 615 tons, \$324,906.52; built by the Government; nearly completed. *Alliance*, 615 tons, \$389,687.94; built by the Government; ready for the officers. *Ranger*, 541 tons, \$294,126.69; built by contract; requiring outfits. *Huron*, 541 tons, \$307,024.54; same as *Ranger*; in commission. *Alert*, 541 tons, \$307,139.13; same as *Ranger*; in commission. *Trenton*, 2,343 tons, \$801,499.84; hull built by the Government; receiving machinery. Total tons, 6,426. Total cost, \$3,062,101.39.